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AN

HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE Ō-VOWEL
IN
ACCENTED SYLLABLES
IN ENGLISH

BY

EDWIN W. BOWEN, PH.D.

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PREFACE.

THIS monograph represents in the main the fruit of my studies in English philology during the years 1893 and 1894 at the University of Leipzig, where the greater part of the work was done. My purpose was originally to write merely a fugitive article on the history of the long *o*-vowel in English similar to my dissertation on the long *e*-vowel presented three years ago to the Johns Hopkins University for the Doctor's degree; but, after collecting considerable material, I altered my original design, and concluded to publish this little contribution to the history of English sounds in a more permanent form.

This little book is, therefore, offered to students of English philology with the hope that it may help, at least in some measure, to throw light upon one of the many obscure and tortuous paths of phonology. Much stress — perhaps too much — has been placed upon the data collected, so that it may seem to some that undue prominence and space are given to minute details. This seemed advisable, if we were to arrive at an independent judgment and not adopt conclusions already reached. I should have found it less laborious to give fewer details. However, no one is more conscious of the defects of the treatment than myself, and I have learned from experience that it is no less difficult to strike the happy mean in matters philological than in matters moral.

A casual glance is sufficient to reveal my indebtedness to various investigators in the field of English phonology, references to whom will be found in the body of the work. For a general list of these — as well as for the explanation of the abbreviations and symbols used — the reader is referred to the appendix. In the modern period I have relied almost entirely for my material upon that thesaurus stored up in Ellis' Early English Pronunciation, a monumental work which places every investigator into the phonology of this period of the language under obligation to its author.

My special thanks are due Professor Alois Brandl of the University of Strassburg for valuable suggestions.

EDWIN W. BOWEN.

RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE, VA.,
May, 1895.

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III. THE MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS study is an attempt to sketch the development and history of the long *o*-vowel from Anglo-Saxon to Living English. It has been found convenient in the treatment of the present subject to make three principal divisions, viz., Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, and Modern English, which represent of course the three well-defined periods in the growth of the language. The last named period admits of subdivisions according to centuries which, though somewhat arbitrary, are observed as simplifying to some extent the problem before us.

After brief reference to the origin of the *ō*-vowel in the Germanic language, its source and development in Anglo-Saxon are investigated. Copious examples are cited with their cognates in Old High German, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Norse, Old Frisian, etc. The West Saxon dialect, embracing as it does most of the literature of the early period of the language, is made the basis of the investigation in Anglo-Saxon, but not to the exclusive neglect of the other dialects of which special mention is made whenever they exhibit variations from the West-Saxon norm.

The section on Anglo-Saxon is not limited to the *ō*-vowel, but includes also *ā*, for the obvious reason that the latter, like *ā* of the Germanic languages in the prehistoric period, ceased to exist as such, being rounded into open *ō* in Middle English in all the dialects except the Northern. Hence its right to be discussed with *ō* in the Anglo-Saxon period. So, also, in the Modern period there comes within the scope of the present problem the old *ou*-diphthong because this sound lost its diphthongal quality and gradually became a monophthong ō as the new diphthong *ou* from M.E. ū developed.

The treatment in the Middle English period is in a manner similar to that of the Anglo-Saxon, but much more detailed because the development of the ō-vowel varies with the individual dialect with respect to extent and time. Representative texts of all the dialects have, therefore, been carefully examined with a view to determining the manner of representation of the open and close ō in each of these. After this investigation of the conventional M.E. dialects, is examined the dialect from which standard English sprang as represented by Chaucer and the London State and Parliamentary documents. In this as in the others it is shown how the two sounds of long *o*, open and close, were generally separated and to what extent confusion between these resulted from the exigencies of the verse. It is further demonstrated what the sources of the two ō's, respectively, in Anglo-Saxon were, and from what sources other than English the domain of the ō-vowel in Middle English was extended.

In the modern period an attempt is made to show how the two ō-sounds of Middle English changed in the succeeding centuries, into what sounds they passed, and how the old *ou*-diphthong developed into the ō-vowel. It will be observed then that the open ō, from being an exceedingly rare sound in Anglo-Saxon, became of quite frequent occurrence in Middle English, and about the end of the seventeenth century passed over into the close ō, which continued as such until it was diphthonged in Living English, while the original close ō, quite a common sound in both the early periods of the language, persisted with its primitive value till about the beginning of Modern English, when it became long *u* and as such remained till the diphthonging in Living English.

AN HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE Ō-VOWEL IN ENGLISH.

I.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

A. Origin of ō and ā in Anglo-Saxon.

1. Origin of A.S. ō.

In the Primitive Germanic vowel system there existed but one sound of long *o*. But this ō-sound had two distinct sources, one corresponding to Indo-European *ā*, and the other to Indo-European *ō*, both of which were levelled, in the Pre-Germanic period, under the common ō-sound. Cf. Brugmann, Grundriss der Vergleich. Gramm. der Indogerm. Sprachen, I, §§ 91, 107. The Germanic *ō* corresponding to I.E. *ō* represents of course a close sound, appearing in Sanskrit as *ā*, in Greek as *ω*, in Latin as *ō*, in Old Irish as *ā*. On the other hand, the Germ. *ō* arising from I.E. *ā* is regarded as an open sound, which appears in Aryan as *ā*, in Greek as *ā* (*η*), in Latin as *ā*, in Old Irish as *ā*. Cf. Brugmann, §§ 85, 101 seq. This distinction between the open and close vowels cannot, however, be demonstrated in the historic period of the Germanic languages which levelled the open under the close sound of long *o*. The representation of this ō-sound in the several Germanic languages is as follows: Anglo-Saxon *ō*, Goth. *ō* (occasionally *ū*[1]), Old High German *ō* (later *oa, ua, uo*[2]), Old Saxon *ō*, Old Norse *ō*, Old Frisian *ō*. It may be added that in the final position the Prim. Germ. *ō* was represented in Goth. by *ā*, in O.H.G. by *u*. Anglo-Saxon will be seen then not to differ from the other branches of the Germanic family, having levelled the two originally different sounds of long *o* under the close *ō*, which is represented in all the dialects alike by the common symbol *o*.

The following examples will serve to show the representation of the vowel in question in A.S.: —

A.S. brōðor 'brother,' Goth. brōþar, O.H.G. bruoder bruader, O.S. brōðar, O.Fris. brōther; cf. Lat. frāter, Gr. *φρᾱ́τηρ*, Skr. bhrātā́; I.E. type bhā́rtor. Brugmann, § 103.

A.S. bōc 'beech,' Goth. bōka 'letter,' O.H.G. buocha, O.N. bōk, O.Fris. bōk; cf. Lat. fāgus, Dor.Gr. *φᾱγός* 'oak.' Brugmann, § 105; Feist, 106.

A.S. bōh (bōg) 'arm, bough,' O.H.G. buog, O.N. bōgr 'elbow,' Dutch boeg; cf. Dor. Gr. *πᾶχυς*, Skr. bāhús. Brugmann, § 101.

A.S. brōd 'brood,' O.H.G. bruot, Dutch broed. See Kluge: brut.

A.S. blōd 'blood,' O.H.G. bluota, O.N. blōð, Du. bloed; cf. Goth. blōþa- (for *blōda-). Kluge: blut.

A.S. bōsm 'bosom,' O.H.G. buosam buosum, Du. boezom. See Kluge: busen; Skeat: bosom.

A.S. flōd 'flood,' Goth. flōdus, O.H.G. fluot, O.S. flōd; cf. Lat. plōrare 'weep,' Gr. *πλωτός* 'swimming,' I.E. √plō. Kluge: flut; Feist, 175.

A.S. flōr 'floor,' M.H.G. vluor, O.N. flōr, Du. vloer; Germ. stem flōrus < pre-Germ. plōrus. Kluge: flur.

A.S. fōda 'food,' Goth. fōdeins (fōdjan), Germ. √fōd, fad; cf. O.H.G. fatunga, Gr. *πατέομαι*, Lat. pānis pāsco. Henry, § 116; Feist, 177.

A.S. fōr 'journey,' O.H.G. fuora. See further Kluge: fuhre fahren.

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[1] See Brugmann, § 91; Braune, Ahd. Gramm. § 12, Anm. 1.

[2] See Braune, Ahd. Gramm. § 38 seq.

A.S. fōt 'foot,' Goth. fōtus, O.H.G. fuoz, O.S. fōt, Germ. √fōt; cf. Skr. pád- pā́da-, Dor.Gr. πώς, I.E. √pōd. Brugmann.

A.S. gōd 'good,' Goth. gōþs, O.H.G. guot, O.N. gōðr, Du. goed. Feist, 218.

A.S. mōd 'mood,' Goth. mōþs, O.H.G. muot, O.S. mōt. Cf. Brugmann, II, § 79; Feist, 406.

A.S. mōdor 'mother,' O.H.G. muoter, O.S. mōdar, O.N. mōðir, Germ. type mōdar < pre-Germ. mātēr, I.E. māter; cf. Skr. mātā́, Lat. māter, Gr. *μάτηρ*. Brugmann, I, § 101, II, § 122.

A.S. ōst 'knot, knob,' cf. Goth. asts, O.H.G. ast 'branch,' basal form ozdo-; cf. Gr. *ὄζος* (*ζ* = *zd*), Du. oest. Kluge: ast; Feist, 53.

A.S. rō 'rest,' O.H.G. ruowa, O.N. rō; cf. Gr. *ἐρωή* 'cessation'; Germ. *rēwō *rōwō, I.E. *rōwā. Brugmann, II, § 64.

A.S. stōl 'stool,' Goth. stōls, O.H.G. stuol, O.S. stōl, O.N. stōll, I.E. √stā. Brugmann, I, § 316; Feist, 541.

A.S. sōt 'soot,' O.N. sōt, Swed. sōt; see further Skeat: soot.

A.S. wōð 'eloquence,' wōð-boro 'orator, prophet'; cf. Lat. vātes, O.Ir. fāith. Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 304.

So, also, belongs here the *ō* of the Prets. of Ablaut class VI, as fōr, fōron, gōl, gōlon, lōg, lōgon, slōg, slōgon, ðwōg, ðwōgon, swōr, swōron, etc., and the *ō* of the Pres. stem and Past Partcp. of certain reduplicating verbs, as hrōpan, swōgan, blōtan, etc.

2. Origin of A.S. *ā*.

We have seen that I.E. *ā* did not appear in Germ. as *ā*, but was levelled under *ō*. There is, however, an *ā*-vowel in Germ., and the sphere of this particular sound in Anglo-Saxon we shall now consider. This vowel in Anglo-Saxon has several distinct sources. It corresponds to Germ. *ai* and *oi*, West Germ. *ai*, Goth. *ai*, O.N. *ei*, O.S. *ē*, O.Fris. *ē* (rarely *ā*), O.H.G. *ei* (which before the consonants *h*, *r*, *w* was reduced to the monophthong *ē*[1]). In Sanskrit this sound appears as *ē*, in Greek as *αι*, *οι*, in Latin as *æ*, *œ* (*ū*), being in reality the I.E. diph-

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[1] See Braune, Ahd. Gramm. § 43.

thong *ai, oi.* This *ā*-vowel in Anglo-Saxon is doubtless open; more definitely characterized it is a long low-back-wide vowel. The old Germanic diph. *ai* underwent a process of deterioration in which the second element of the diphthong, viz. *i*, was probably weakened into *e*, and, subsequently, entirely disappeared. As in the case of the *ēa* diphthong we have in some of the oldest texts instead of *ēa*, such writings as *æo, æa,* so, also, instead of *ā*, the older *ai* occurs, as Sweet has pointed out (H.E.S., § 445), in the Colton Ms. of Boethius, showing that the old diphthong had not yet been completely reduced to a monophthong. In the very oldest documents the *ā* is not infrequently written *aa*, as the following show: haam Charter[1] 83, laam Epinal Gloss. 48, Corpus 1227, faam Erfurt 426, aac Epinal 235, laac Corpus 737, raa Erfurt 1161, faag Epinal 61, gaad Corpus 1937, waat, maanful, baan, flaan, staan, scaan, snaas, laath, haal-staan, baar, gaar, waar, ingaa, gaa, aa, etc.[2]

Secondly, A.S. *ā* arises from A.S. *ǣ* followed by *w* or when the following syllable contains *a, o, u.* This *ā* corresponds to I.E. *ē*, Germ. *ǣ*, West Germ. *ā*, which appears in Goth. as *ē*, in O.H.G. as *ā*, in O.S. as *ā*, in O.Fris. as *ē*, and in O.N. as *ā*. This is of course an open sound.

Again, A.S. *ā* arises from certain Latin importations, and on Anglo-Saxon soil from the operation of certain well-defined phonological laws. The *a* in both of these cases is treated as the *ā*'s discussed above, and the presumption is that this latter *ā* is of the same phonetic quality as the others; that is, open. To this *ā* borrowed and developed on A.S. soil we shall recur later.

As examples of A.S. *ā* corresponding to I.E. *ai, oi,* Germ. *ai*, etc., the following are cited: —

A.S. ād 'funeral pile, heap,' O.H.G. eit; cf. Lat. ædēs æstus, Gr. *αἴθω*, Skt. ḗdhas 'wood for fuel,' O.Ir. æd, I.E. $\sqrt{\text{aidh}}$ 'glow.' Brugmann, I, § 93.

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[1] Cf. Sweet, Oldest English Texts, p. 426.

[2] See Sweet, O.E.T. p. 584 seq., and Dietor: Uber die sprache Epinal *u. Cambridge* Glossen, § 4.

A.S. hāl ‘hale, whole,’ Goth. hails, O.H.G. heil, O.S. hēl, O.N. heill, O.Fris. hēl; I.E. basal form quailo-. Feist, 236; Brugmann, I, § 439.

A.S. gād ‘goad,’ Goth. gazds; cf. Lat. hasta; basal form ghazdh. Feist, 209.

A.S. gād ‘lack’ (< *gādw), Goth. gaidw; cf. O.H.G. gīt, A.S. gītsian (< *gīdsian). Feist, 197; Sievers’ Gram. § 198. 4.

A.S. gāt ‘goat,’ O.H.G. geiz, Goth. gaits, O.N. geit, Du. geit; cf. Lat. hædus (< *ghaidos). Kluge: geisz.

A.S. sāda ‘cord, snare,’ O.H.G. seito; cf. Lat. sæta, Skt. sētu- ‘binding’; I.E. √sa or si.

A.S. sāl ‘rope, band,’ O.H.G. seil, O.S. sēl, O.Fris. sēl, O.N. seil; Germ. stem sailo-, I.E. √sī. Brugmann, II, p. 195.

A.S. slāw ‘slow,’ beside slǣw, slēaw; O.H.G. slēo ‘dull,’ O.S. slow, O.N. sljōr; Germ. basal form slaiwaz.

So, also, the derivatives slāwian ‘to be or become slow,’ slāwlice ‘slowly,’ etc.

A.S. tācor ‘brother-in-law,’ O.H.G. zeihhur; cf. Gr. *δήᾱρ* (< **δαιϝήρ*), Skt. dēvár-; I.E. basal form *daiwer-, *daiwr-. Brugmann, I, § 95–97.

A.S. ān ‘one,’ Goth. ains, O.H.G. ein, O.S. ēn, O.Fris. ēn, O.N. einn, O.Lat. oinos œnos, Gr. *οἰνός*, I.E. oinos. Henry, Comp. Gram. of Gr. and Lat. § 34, B.

A.S. āð ‘oath,’ Goth. aiþs, O.H.G. eid, O.S. ēth, O.N. eiþr; Germ. base aiþaz, I.E. oito-. Feist, 21.

A.S. ātor ‘poison,’ O.H.G. eitor, O.N. eitr; cf. Gr. *οἶδος* ‘tumor,’ *οἰδάω* ‘I swell’; I.E. stem oid-; cf. Brugmann, I, § 63, 395.

A.S. clām ‘clay, mud’; cf. Gr. *γλοιός* ‘mud, oil,’ Lat. gluten, O.H.G. klënan ‘to smear,’ O.Ir. glenim. Paul’s Grundriss, I, p. 370.

A.S. dāg dāh ‘dough,’ Goth. daigs deigan, O.H.G. teic, O.N. deig; cf. Gr. *τοῖχος τεῖχος*, Skt. dḗhun dēhī ‘wall,’ Latin fingo figura; I.E. √dheigh. Feist, 124; Brugmann, I, § 63, and § 395.

A.S. fāh fāg ‘guilty, hostile,’ Goth. faih ‘deception’ bifaihōn, O.H.G. fēh, gafēh; cf. Gr. *πικρός*; I.E. √peiq. Brugmann, I, § 458; Feist, 145.

A.S. fāh fāg 'colored, variegated,' Goth. faihs filu-faihs, O.H.G. fēh, O.S. fēh; cf. Gr. *ποικίλος*, Lat. pingo pictor, I.E. √peik. Feist, 146.

A.S. fām 'foam,' O.H.G. feim; cf. Lat. spūma, Skr. phēna.

A.S. hād 'condition,' Goth. haidus, O.H.G. heit 'person,' O.S. hēd, O.Fris. hēd, Skr. kētú-, I.E. form qoitú-. Brugmann, I, § 374; Feist, 233.

A.S. hādor 'clear, bright,' O.H.G. hēitar, O.S. hēdar, adv. hēdro, verb hēdrōn, O.N. heidhr.

A.S. hām 'home,' Goth. haims 'village,' O.H.G. heim, O.S. hēm, O.Fris. hām hēm; I.E. type qoimi-; cf. I.E. √qai = rest. Feist, 237; Brugmann, I, § 84.

A.S. lāst 'track, last,' Goth. laists laistan 'to teach'; cf. Lat. līra 'furrow,' M.H.G. leis leise; I.E. √leis 'to track out.' Brugmann, I, 588. 2; Feist, 346.

A.S. mān 'wicked, false, base,' O.H.G. mein, O.Fris. mēn, O.N. meinn; Germ. type mainaz, I.E. moínos; cf. Lat. commūnis (*commoinis). Brugmann, II, § 66, § 95.

A.S. wāt 'he knows,' Goth. wait, O.H.G. weiz, O.Fris. wēt, O.S. wēt, Gr. *οἶδα* (< **ϝοῖδα*), Skr. véda; I.E. type *voide, √veid. Brugmann, I, § 77; Feist, 643.

A.S. wrāsen 'chain,' O.H.G. reisan; cf. A.S. wriðan 'to twist,' Germ. base wraitsna-. Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 28.

A.S. swāt 'sweat,' O.H.G. sweiz, O.S. swēt, O.Fris. swēt, O.N. sveiti, Du. sweet, Skr. svēdas, Lat. sūdor, Gr. *ἶδος*; I.E. stem swaid swĭd.

2. I.E. *ē*, Germ. *ǣ* (probably a low-front-wide vowel) appears in A.S. as *ā* when followed by *w*, or when the following syllable contains *a*, *o*, *u* (Sievers' Gram. § 57. 2).

A.S. āwul 'awl,' O.H.G. āla, O.N. alr. See Kluge: ahle.

A.S. clā clāwu 'claw, nail,' O.H.G. clēa clāo (< clāwu, *claw), O.N. klō, O.S. clāwu, Du. klaauw. Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 86.

A.S. hrāca 'spittle,' O.N. hrāki.

A.S. lācnian beside lǣcnian 'to deal'; cf. A.S. lǣce, Goth. lēkeis 'a leech, physician,' O.H.G. lāchi lahhi (< Keltic *lēgjo *lēgo, < I.E. leigo). Feist, 353.

A.S. lāgon, pret. pl. of licgan, Goth. lēgun, O.H.G. lāgun, O.N. lǭgom lāgom, O.S. lāgun.

A.S. māge māgas beside mǣge mǣgas 'kinsman,' O.H.G. māg, O.S. māg, Goth. mēgs 'a son-in-law,' O.N. māgr 'a father-in-law,' O.Fris. mēch.

A.S. sāwon beside sǣgon pret. pl. of sēon, Goth. sēhwun, O.H.G. sāwun, O.S. sāwun.

A.S. slāpan beside slǣpan, Goth. slēpan, O.H.G. slāfan, O.S. slāpan.

A.S. swār 'heavy' beside swǣr, Goth. swērs 'grave, honored,' O.H.G. swār, O.S. swār, O.N. svārr.

A.S. tāl beside tǣl 'calumny,' O.H.G. zāla 'peril,' O.N. tāl 'deceit'; cf. Lat. dolus, Gr. δόλος. Schade.

A.S. tāwian 'to prepare,' Goth. tēwa 'order'; I.E. √deq. Feist, 577.

A.S. getāwe 'equipment.' See above.

A.S. trāg 'bad, lazy,' adv. trāge, O.H.G. trāgi, Du. traag; Germ. stem trǣg-, I.E. √drēgh 'torment.' Kluge: trāge.

A.S. ðāwan 'to thaw' beside ðǣgon, O.H.G. douwen dęwan (dōan), O.N. þeyja; cf. Gr. τήκω, I.E. √tēq. Kluge: tauen.

A.S. wāg beside wǣg 'wave,' Goth. wēgs, O.H.G. wāg (base wāgo-), O.S. wāg, O.Fris. wēg, O.N. vega; I.E. weghō 'to move.' Brugmann, I, § 178.

A.S. wāt beside wǣt 'wet'; cf. Goth. watō 'water,' O.N. vātr; Skr. udáu-, Lat. unda, Gr. ὕδωρ ὕδατος (< basal form udn̥tos), I.E. √vend, ved. Feist, 655.

A.S. strāwberige 'strawberry' and ācumba, besides rare ǣcumba 'oakum,' may be placed here. See Sievers' Gram. § 57.

So, also, belong here the sing. prets. of Ablaut class I, as:

A.S. grāp pret of grīpan 'to seize,' Goth. graip, O.H.G. greif, O.S. grēp, etc.

A.S. bād pret. of bīdan, Goth. baid, O.H.G. beit, O.S. bēd, etc.

A.S. arās pret. of rīsan 'to rise,' Goth. rais, O.H.G. reis, O.S. arēs, etc.

A.S. stāg pret. of stīgan 'to ascend,' Goth. staig, O.H.G. steig, O.S. stēg, etc.

A.S. hnāg pret. of hnīgan 'to bow,' O.H.G. hneig, O.S. hnēg, etc.

So blāc pret. of blīcan, drāf pret. of drīfan, belāf pret. of belīfan, strād pret. of strīdan, hrān pret. of hrīnan, etc., etc.

Then in the Present and Participles of certain reduplicating verbs *ā* also occurs, as: —

A.S. hātan hāten 'to call,' Goth. haitan, O.H.G. heizzan, O.S. hētan, O.N. heita.

A.S. scādan scāden 'to separate,' Goth. skaidan, O.H.G. skeidan, O.S. skēdan, O.Fris. skētha; Germ. stem skaiþ, I.E. skait. Kluge: scheiden.

A.S. lācan lācen 'to jump,' Goth. laikan; cf. Goth. laiks 'dance.'

A.S. blāwan blāwen 'to blow,' O.H.G. blāan blājan; Germ. $\sqrt{\text{blā(blē)}}$; cf. Lat. flāre, I.E. $\sqrt{\text{bhlā}}$. Kluge: blähen.

A.S. sāwan sāwen 'to sow,' Goth. saian, O.H.G. sāan sājan, O.S. sāian. So, clāwan 'to claw,' cnāwan 'to know,' crāwan 'to crow,' māwan 'to mow,' wāwan 'to blow,' etc.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF *ō* AND *ā* IN ANGLO-SAXON.

We have thus far considered only those sounds which were original in Anglo-Saxon. We have seen that the old I.E. *ā* in pre-Germanic times was converted into *ō*, and as such appears in A.S. as well as in the other branches of the Germanic family, and that this *ō* was levelled under the close sound of the original long *ō* which corresponds to I.E. *ō*. We have considered further the origin of *ā*, the low-back-wide vowel, in Anglo-Saxon, and have seen that it corresponds to the I.E. diphthongs *ai, oi* generally, but in a few cases also to I.E. *ē*, Germ. *ǣ*. Now all the mutations of the vowels thus far considered have taken place entirely independently of their environment. We shall now consider those mutations of the vowels in question which are produced by the influence of environment. Here, however, it will be found that environment has not played so important a rôle in the development of the *ō*-vowel or *ā*-vowel in Anglo-Saxon as it has in that of the *ē*-vowel, whose sphere, it will be remembered, was very largely increased by the operation of such processes as umlaut, contraction, etc. Indeed, almost the reverse is the case with the vowels under present discussion. Their spheres have been largely diminished by the operation of the same phonological laws, notably umlaut, which served to augment the *ē*-vowel. There are only two chief phonological laws whose operation has contributed to the extension of the spheres of the *ō* and *ā* vowels in Anglo-Saxon, and these two are lengthening and contraction. Of course these two principles involve others, such as syncope, ecthlipsis, metathesis, etc. There is, however, a third cause which led to the development of the *ō*-vowel in Anglo-Saxon, and this is the influence of nasals. But the extent of this influence is not very far-reaching, so that comparatively few *ō*'s owe their origin to this influence.

1. Influence of Nasals.

In Anglo-Saxon and in the Germanic languages in general, in some cases, the nasal seems to have exercised a peculiar influence on the preceding vowel. Here at the outset we must distinguish between two cases. First, under the peculiar influence of the following nasal, West Germ. *ā* from Germ. *ǣ*, I.E. *ē* (an open vowel) was rounded in Anglo-Saxon into *ō*. Now it is not improbable that this *ō*, coming from an open *ē*, is of a different quality from the *ō* discussed, being more open than the latter, though the continuance of this distinction into the historic period of Anglo-Saxon is not susceptible of demonstration. The same is true of the second case in which Germanic *a*, under the influence of the following nasal, is rounded into open ǫ in Anglo-Saxon. It may be assumed that this ō at first preserved its open quality, but was later levelled under the close ō; for the subsequent history of this ō shows quite conclusively that it did not preserve its open quality in early Middle English. This phenomenon is similar to that of the confusion of the two ō's in the pre-Germanic period. The date of the influence of the nasal must be placed in the prehistoric period.

1. Examples of ō from Germ. *ǣ*, W.G. *ā*, before nasals, are: —

A.S. brōm 'broom,' O.H.G. brāmo 'bramble,' Du. brem; Germ. stem brǣm-.

A.S. c(w)ōmon pret. pl. of cuman 'come,' Goth. qēmum, O.H.G. quāmun, O.S. quāmin.

A.S. gedōn beside gedēn, gedǣn past part. of dōn, O.H.G. gitān.

A.S. mōna 'moon,' Goth. mēna, O.H.G. māno, O.N. māni, O.Fris. mōna; cf. Lat. mēnsis 'month,' Gr. μήνη; I.E. stem mēns-. Feist, 391.

A.S. mōnað 'month,' Goth. mēnoðs, O.H.G. mānōd, O.N. mānaðr, O.Fris. mōnath.

A.S. nōmon pret. pl. of niman 'to take,' Goth. nēmun, O.H.G. nāmun, I.E. *ne-mu-nu. Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 353. 5.

A.S. ōm 'rust,' ōmig 'rusty, inflammation, ōmiht 'full of inflammation.'

A.S. ōman plur. 'erysipelas,' O.N. āma. See Bosworth-Toller.

A.S. sōm- in compounds as sōmcucu 'half-dead,' O.H.G. sāmiquic, O.S. sāmi-quek; cf. Lat. sēmi-, Gr. ἡμί.

A.S. sōna 'soon,' O.H.G. sān, O.S. sān, O.Fris. sān, sōn; cf. Goth. suns.

A.S. spōn 'spoon,' O.H.G. spān, O.Fris. spōn, O.N. spānn spōnn 'chip.'

A.S. wōm wōma 'uproar.' See Sievers' Gram. § 68.

Note. — Other forms such as cwēn, gecwēme, etc., have since the origin of ō suffered *i*-umlaut, and so exhibit ē instead of ō.

2. In the second class we must distinguish especially those cases in which the *an* was followed by a guttural surd spirant *h*, for here the nasal, after the *a* was nasalized, was lost before the *h*, and thus arose the so-called Germanic nasalized *ā*. This *ā* was also rounded into *ō* in Anglo-Saxon in the prehistoric period, and later levelled under the close *ō*.

Examples of this *ō* from the Germ. nasalized *ā* are: —

A.S. brōhte pret. of bringan 'to bring,' Goth. brāhta, O.H.G. brāhta, O.S. brāhta; Germ. form *branχta.

A.S. fōn 'catch' (< *fā(h)an), Goth. fāhan, O.H.G. fāhan, O.N. fā, O.S. fāhan; Germ. stem *fanχana-. Brugmann, I, § 214.

A.S. hōh 'hough, heel'; cf. O.N. hā-sin, A.S. hēla (< hōhila); Germ. base *χanχa-, *χanχilana.

A.S. hōn 'hang' (<*hā(h)an) Goth. hāhan, O.H.G. hāhan; Germ. stem *χanχ-, I.E. √kanq. Feist, 232.

A.S. ōht 'persecution' (< *āht), O.H.G. āhta āhten 'to persecute'; cf. O.S. āhtian, Germ. stem anχtō-, I.E. √angh. Kluge: acht.

A.S. tōh 'tough' (< *tāh < *tanh), O.H.G. zāhi; Germ. stem tanχ-; cf. A.S. gētęnge, O.H.G. gizengi. Kluge: zähe.

A.S. ðō 'clay' (< *ðōha < ðǫnha < ðanha), Goth. þāhō, O.H.G. dāha, O.N. þā; Germ. stem þanχōn. Kluge: thon.

A.S. wōh 'crooked, bad' (< *wāh < *wanh), Goth. unwāhs 'blameless,' O.S. wāh; Germ. stem *wanχa-, I.E. wanqo-. Feist, 630.

A.S. ðōhte pret. of ðęncean 'to think,' Goth. þāhta, O.H.G. thāhta, O.S. thāhta; Germ. stem *þanχta.

2. Lengthening.

As is well known, there are in Anglo-Saxon several kinds of lengthening, viz., lengthening by compensation, lengthening of monosyllables, lengthening in auslaut, and lengthening before certain consonant combinations. The extent of this process cannot be determined with entire accuracy, for the indications of quantity in the MSS. are scanty, and even these indications, few as they are, have not been very faithfully preserved by the editors of the A.S. texts. It is then difficult to formulate laws of lengthening, and this difficulty is enhanced by the fact that the phenomenon in question varies with the individual dialect both with respect to extent and period of occurrence (Sievers' Gram. § 120). It is equally difficult to determine the limits of the period of operation of the several laws of lengthening, whether, for instance, they were all operative simultaneously, or whether one had ceased before another began. The *terminus a quo* must at all events be placed in the pre-Germanic period,—which, however, is rather indefinite, but we must from the nature of the case content ourselves with this general date. The *terminus ad quem* must be placed several centuries later in the M.E. period or late A.S., since here we see the process still operative in the case of the vowel before certain consonant combinations. Thus much premised, we may take up the several cases separately.

1. *Lengthening by Compensation.*

A.S. ō (and ā) arise in the following examples from lengthening by compensation for the loss of a nasal before the surd spirants *s*, *ð*, *f* (Sievers' Gram. §§ 66, 185). Here the vowel that is lengthened was *ǫ* from *a*.

A.S. bōsig 'boosy' (< *bǫns < *bans); cf. Goth. bansts 'barn,' O.N. bāss; Germ. banse; Germ. type bansaz. Kluge: banse.

A.S. gōs 'goose' (< *gǫns < *gans), O.H.G. gans, O.N. gōs gās, Dutch gans; cf. Lat. (h)ānser, Gr. χήν (χηνός for *χανσός), Skr. hamsas 'swan,' O.Ir. gēd; I.E. stem ghans-. Henry, Comp. Gr. § 47; Brugmann, I, § 565.

A.S. hōs 'band, troop' (< *hǫns < *hans), Goth. hansa, O.H.G. hansa. See Kluge: hanse.

A.S. ōs 'a god' (especially in proper names) (< *ǫns < *ans), O.H.G. ans-, O.N. āss. See further Grimm's Teutonic Mythology ed. by Stallybrass, p. 25, and Bosworth-Toller: ōs.

A.S. ōsle 'ousel, blackbird' (< *ǫnsal < *ansal), O.H.G. amsala. See Kluge: amsel.

A.S. ōðer 'other' (< *ǫnðer < *anðer), Goth. anþar, O.H.G. andar, O.N. annarr, O.S. ōdar (andar), O.Fris. ōther.

A.S. smōðe 'smoothly' beside smē̆ðe, adj. with i-umlaut.

A.S. sōfte 'softly' beside sē̆fte, adj. with i-umlaut. O.H.G. samfto; cf. Goth. samjan 'to please.'

A.S. sōð 'true' (< *sǫnð < *sanð), O.N. sannr, sanþr; cf. Lat. sonticus 'genuine'; I.E. base sonto-. Feist, 547.

A.S. tōð[1] 'tooth' (< *tǫnð < *tanð), O.H.G. zand, O.S. tand, O.N. tǫnn (gen. tannar); cf. Goth. tunþus, Gr. ὀδούς, ὀδοντ-, Skr. danta, Lat. dens dentis; I.E. stem dont dn̥t. Feist, 585.

A.S. *ā* arises from lengthening by compensation for the loss of *g*, which often disappears after a palatal vowel, and when followed by one of the voiced consonants *d*, *ð*, *n* (Sievers' Gram. § 214. 3). Very few cases occur.

A.S. befrān, frān pret. of frignan frīnan 'to ask'; cf. Goth. fraihnan frah, Skr. praçná 'question,' Lat. precor procus 'suitor'; I.E. $\sqrt{\text{prek}}$. Feist, 182.

The A.S. *ō* in late W.S. brōden beside regular brogden pret. of bregdan seems to be entitled to its quantity on a similar ground.

In hāles, etc., oblique form of holh 'hole' (Epinal Gloss. 1072: hool) the compensatory lengthening is for loss of *h*.

2. A.S. *ā* in the following words arises from lengthening of final *a* in monosyllables, the originally final consonant being lost (Sievers, 121). The *a* on being lengthened of course preserves its original open quality.

A.S. *ā*- (< *ar-) inseparable prefix; cf. Goth. us-, O.H.G. ar-; A.S. āgifan 'to give back,' Goth. usgiban, O.H.G. argeban, etc.

A.S. hwā (< *hwar) 'who?' Goth. hwas, O.H.G. hwër wër, O.S. hwē hwie; cf. Skr. ka- 'who?' Gr. πόθεν 'whence?' Lat.

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[1] According to Kluge these forms are really weathered forms of the old present participle of the verb 'to eat,' with apocope of the initial vowel.

quod, O.Ir. co ca, Lith. kàs. Brugmann, I, § 419. Kluge in P.G. I, 95; Feist, 301.

A.S. swā (< *swar) 'so,' Goth swa, O.H.G. sō, O.S. sō, O.Fris. sā, O.N. svā; cf. Gr. ὥς 'so'; I.E. pronominal stem svo-. Feist, 550.

3. A.S. *ā* very rarely arises from a tendency to lengthen monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant, or an originally geminated consonant. Sievers, § 122; Sweet, H.E.S., § 384.

A.S. āc beside regular ac 'but'; cf. Goth. ak, O.H.G. ok, O.S. ak.

A.S. cān beside regular can(n) 'can'; cf. O.H.G. kann, Goth. kan, O.S. kan, etc.

A.S. mān beside regular mann 'man'; cf. O.H.G. man, O.S. man, O.Fris. man.

4. In late West Saxon *ā* and *ō* occasionally arise as a result of lengthening *a* and *o* before the consonant combinations *ld*, *rn*, etc. (Sievers, 124). It is to be noted that these consonant combinations consist of both nasals and liquids + a consonant, or, according to Sweet, "of vowel-likes + a consonant which must be voiced"[1] (Hist. of English Sounds, § 635). In Middle English this species of lengthening is almost regular. Orm, for instance, invariably indicates, by his practice of writing, a long vowel in these cases. But in Anglo-Saxon, it must be confessed that the writing of a long vowel in such cases by no means approaches regularity, even in late West Saxon documents. Such being the facts in the case, probably the most tenable hypothesis is that the tendency to lengthen the vowel before the above-defined consonant combinations was beginning in late West Saxon to manifest itself in sporadic occurrences, but did not develop into a principle till a century or so later in the early M.E. period.

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[1] This is really the rule which holds for M.E., but it will be noted that in the examples cited a few exceptions occur, as hālp. These exceptions do not, however, affect the validity of the rule as stated.

Such illustrative forms as the following occur: āld beside regular eald (Rushworth Matt. 9:16), hālden beside regular healden (halden), sālde beside regular sealde (salde), tālde beside regular tealde (talde), āll beside regular eall (all), fāllen beside regular feallen (fallen), ārn (pret. of iernan 'to run') beside regular ǫrn (arn), hālp (pret. of helpan) beside regular healp (halp), hānd besides regular hǫnd, fānd beside regular fǫnd, wōmb beside regular wǫmb, gōld beside regular gold, wang beside regular wǫng 'field,' fāndian 'to endeavor' beside regular fandian, wōrd beside regular word, hōrd beside regular hord, etc.

Note 1. — This species of lengthening is not confined exclusively to late A.S. texts, as Ælfric's Homilies, etc., but occurs also in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, and in the Psalter, where it is the regular writing. Here the breaking of *a* before *l* + consonant does not occur, being replaced by *ā*, as in āld, fāld, tālde, sālde, wāll, hālm, etc. See Zeuner, Die sprache des Kentischen psalter's (Vespasian A. I.) § 8, I. 2, and Sievers, § 158.

Note 2. — In some of the earliest texts there appears to be lengthening of the vowel in strong words, as Sweet has shown (H.E.S. § 387), and so we are to explain the *ā* or *aa* (which means the same) in the following sporadic cases: —

A.S. paat for regular pað 'path' (Corpus Gloss. 429).
A.S. haam for regular ham 'shirt' (Erfurt Gloss. 244).
A.S. fraam for regular fram 'vigorous' (Epinal Gloss. 71).

5. Attention may be drawn to what appears to be still another species of lengthening in which A.S. *ā* occurs sporadically even in the Cura Pastoralis as the result of a tendency to prolong a short vowel before a single consonant in dissyllabic and polysyllabic words. As illustrative forms may be cited: —

A.S. fātu pl. of fæt.
A.S. rāce dat. sing. of racu.
A.S. gāderað.
A.S. hāfenleast, etc.
A.S. fāre 3d sing. opt. of faran.

3. Contraction.

This principle has not contributed much to the increase of the original stock of long *a*'s and *o*'s in Anglo-Saxon. Only a few cases can be cited whose origin is referable to contraction.

1. A.S. *ā* arises from the contraction of *ā* (W.G. *ai*) with a vowel, the collision of the vowels being caused by the ecthlipsis of *h* before a following vowel.

A.S. rā 'roe' < rāha which form actually occurs in Corpus, 403; Erfurt exhibits raa 1161; cf. O.H.G. rēho, O.N. rǭ; Germ. base *raiχō(m). Sievers, § 277, note 2.

A.S. tā 'toe' < tahe Corpus 141 tahæ; cf. O.H.G. zēha, O.N. tā; Germ. base *taiχō(n). See Kluge: zeh.

A.S. slā 'sloe' (< *slāhe, < W.G. *slaihe) Corpus 289 slag; cf. O.H.G. slēha slēa, Dutch slee. Kluge: schlehe.

2. A.S. *ō* likewise arises from contraction of *ō* with a vowel in the following examples: —

A.S. fōn (< *fō(h)an) 'to seize'; cf. Goth. fāhan, etc.

A.S. hōn (*< hō(h)an) 'to hang'; cf. Goth. hāhan, etc. So the indic. and opt. pres. fō (< *fō(h)u), hō (< *hōhu), fō (< *fō(h)e), hō (< *hohe), etc.

A.S. ðō 'clay' (< ðōha). Epinal Gloss. 3: thōhœ; cf. Goth. þāho, O.H.G. dāhā, etc.

A.S. wlōum.

3. A.S. *āu* is the result of the contraction of West Germ. *ai* with *a*, *o*, the intervening *w* disappearing after a long vowel. Sievers, 174. 3.

A.S. sāule oblique case (dat) of sāwol 'soul' (< *sā(w)ala); cf. Goth. sacwala, O.H.G. sēla sēula, O.S. sēola, O.N. sāla sāl, O.Fris. sēle.

A.S. āuht (< *ā(w)uht) sometimes appearing as ōwiht 'aught.'

A.S. nāuht (< *nā(w)uht) sometimes appearing as nōwiht 'naught.'

4. In the Northumbrian dialect West Germ. a+o (= later *a*) contracts into *ā*.[1] Sievers' Gram. § 166.

North. slāw 'to slay' (< *sla(h)an) beside W.S. slēan; cf. O.H.G. slahan, O.S. slahan, O.Fris. slā, O.N. slā.

North. ðwān 'to wash' (< *ðwahan) beside W.S. ðwēan; cf. O.H.G. thwahan, O.S. thwahan, O.N. þvā.

So, also, pres. pl. slāð, ðwāð, imper. slā, ðwā, opt. pres. ðwā, slā, etc. < *sla(h)e, *ðwa(h)e, etc. Sievers, 374, note.

4 and 5. Importations from Latin and Old Norse.

We have now completed the survey of the chief causes which have led to the development, in Anglo-Saxon, of the vowels under consideration. There still remain, however, two subordinate sources to be considered, which contributed to the native stock. The first and more important of these is Latin; the second, Old Norse. A general discussion of the former may be found in Pogatscher's article, Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im altenglischen.[2]

1. *ā* appears in A.S. from Latin *ā* in:

A.S. dā 'doe' (< Latin dāma), cf. O.H.G. tām tāmo. See Kluge, P.G. I, p. 310; Pogatscher, p. 195.

A.S. pāl 'pale' (<Lat. pālus 'stake'), cf. O.H.G. pfāl, O. Fris. pāl, Du. paal.

A.S. pāpa 'pope' (< Lat. pāpa), O.H.G. bābes, M.H.G. bābes, bābst, O.N. pāfi. Kluge: pabst.

A.S. pāwa beside contracted pēa 'peacock' (< Lat. pāvo); O.H.G. pfāwo, O.N. pāpāi (as a nickname). See Kluge: pfau.

2. *ā* appears in A.S. from Lat. *a* in:

A.S. cālend 'calends' (< Lat. kalendæ), O.S. kalend. Schade.

A.S. sācerd 'priest' (< Lat. sacerdos, vulg. Lat. sacerdus). Kluge, I, p. 311.

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[1] Kluge seems to think there may be a trace of Norse influence here (cf. Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 874).

[2] See Quellen u. Forschungen, No. 64.

A.S. māgister 'master' (< Lat. magister), O.H.G. meistar, O.S. mēstar, Du. meester.

A.S. pālendse 'palace' (< vulg. Lat. palantium); cf. O.H.G. pfalanza pfalinza, O.S. palencea, O.Fris. palense.

A.S. tālenta 'talent' (< Lat. talentum), O.H.G. talenta. Schade.

Pogatscher would also add: A.S. āmul beside amal (< Lat. amula) 'a vessel for holy water,' A.S. cāmel beside camel (< Lat. camelus) 'camel,' A.S. cānon beside canon (< Lat. canon) 'canon, rule,' A.S. quātern beside quatern (< Lat. quaternis), A.S. sāfine beside safine (< Lat. sabina), A.S. grād beside grad (< Lat. gradus), and A.S. ādamans beside adamans (< Lat. adamas). See Pogatscher, § 186.

NOTE. — *āw* arises in A.S. from Lat. *au*, as follows:

A.S. cāwel 'cole, cabbage' (< Lat. caulis); cf. O.H.G. kōl, kòli, O.N. kāl. Pogatscher, par. 254; Kluge: kohl.

A.S. lāwer beside laur 'laurel' (< Lat. laurus); cf. O.H.G. lōrboum, lōrbere, M.H.G. lōrber. See Kluge, P.G. I, 310, and Kluge: lorbeer.

3. *ō* appears in A.S. from Latin *ō* in:

A.S. mōrbēam 'mulberry-tree' (< Lat. mōrus); cf. O.H.G. mūrboum mūlberi, M.H.G. mūlber, Du. moerbes. Kluge: maulbeere.

A.S. nōn 'noon' (< Lat. nōna), O.H.G. nōna, M.H.G. nōne, O.S. nōn nuon. See Kluge: none.

4. *ō* appears in A.S. from Latin *o* in:

A.S. cōc 'cook' (< Lat. cocus), cf. O.H.G. choh, O.D. coc, O.N. kokkr, O.S. kok. Kluge, P.G. I, 309.

So the derivatives, as A.S. cōcnunga 'pies, things cooked.'

A.S. sōn 'music, a musical instrument' (< Lat. sonus), cf. O.N. sōnu.

A.S. stōl(e) 'stole' (< Lat. stola), cf. O.N. stola.

A.S. scōl(u) 'school' (< Lat. scola); cf. O.H.G. scuola, O.S. *skola, O.N. skōli.*

A.S. prōfian (< Lat. probare) 'to esteem as'; cf. O.N. prōfaðr = 'convicted of.' Bosworth–Toller.

A.S. chōr (< Lat. chorus) may also be placed here according to Pogatscher, § 147 seq.

NOTE. — The quantity of the *ā* and *ō*, given above as long, is not by any means thoroughly established in all the examples cited. Many of them often exhibit short *a* and *o*, and perhaps the latter are of more frequent occurrence than the former, *ā* and *ō*. It will be observed that these *ā*'s and *ō*'s arise from Lat. *a* and *o* in open syllables, which fact seems to lend color to the view that the M.E. process of lengthening the vowel in open syllables was already beginning to manifest itself.

5. A.S. *ō* very rarely springs from O.N. *au*; yet a few examples may be cited: —

A.S. ōra 'a species of money introduced by the Danes' (< O.N. pl. aurar 'money'), cf. O.N. eyrir 'the eighth part of a mark.' Cleasby & Vigfusson would refer to Lat. aurum.

A.S. landcōp beside landcēap 'a fine or tax paid when land was purchased' (< O.N. landcaup 'purchase of land'), cf. O.Fris. landcāp, A.S. lahcōp, lahcēap. The O.N. kaup (kaupa) is the cognate of A.S. cēap (cȳpan 'to buy'), O.H.G. choufon, Goth. kaupōn, etc.

We have now seen what was the original stock of long *a* and *o* in Anglo-Saxon, and further how this native stock was increased by the development of new vowels (*ā* and *ō*) under the operation of certain well-defined phonological laws operating on Anglo-Saxon soil. We have also considered in more or less detail the several causes which led to the development of these vowels. Among these causes it has been shown that the most fruitful were the influence of nasals, lengthenings of various kinds, and contraction, the two subordinate sources Latin and Old Norse not being very prolific.

As to quality, it has been shown that the original A.S. *ō* is really a correspondent of the I.E. close *ō*-sound, and that under this A.S. close *ō*-vowel had been levelled the *ō* which in A.S., as in all the Germanic languages, represents the I.E. open ā. Under this same original A.S. close ō was also leveled the ō which sprang from Germ. *ǣ* and *au,* both originally open vowels, so that we are forced to the conclusion that there was but one ō-sound in A.S., though in the prehistoric period it is quite probable that the ō also had an open sound corresponding to the open quality of the vowels from which it sprang. The A.S. ō is, therefore, a long mid-back-narrow round vowel. As to the quality of the original A.S. ā, which corresponds to I.E. *ai* and *oi,* it may be said that this is open, being what Sweet calls the long low-back-wide vowel. Of this same open quality are all the ā's that were developed in Anglo-Saxon or borrowed from the Latin. Very rarely during the A.S. period is this ā rounded into ō; yet a few cases of this rounding do occur, especially in the late transitional texts, as the *Peterborough Chronicle,* which exhibits such occasional forms as mōr for the regular A.S. mār, nōht for the regular A.S. nāht.

With this brief review we are prepared to consider the problem before us at a more advanced stage of the language, and so we pass on to the Middle English period.

II.

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PERIOD.

A. GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF M.E. $\bar{o}$.

IN the Middle English period our problem assumes a somewhat different aspect, because there is lacking that regularity of representation which was seen to be the case in the Anglo-Saxon period, and consequently the treatment will now be more detailed, dealing with each individual dialect rather than with one representative dialect. We have even ventured to subdivide some of the dialects, — the East Midland and West Midland, — in order to determine as definitely as possible the representation of the M.E. $\bar{o}$ sounds in each of these subdivisions (South-East Midland, North-East Midland, South-West-Midland, North-West Midland), and their relation to the adjacent dialects.

A comparison of M.E. texts with A.S. texts will reveal marked differences in phonology. Indeed, quite wide differences exist between the M.E. texts themselves, as is well known, according to the dialect to which they belong. For example, the phonology of the Ancren Riwle is far removed, of course, from that of the Pricke of Conscience, and each of these differs in turn in a peculiar way from an A.S. text. Now, these changes took place gradually in each of the dialects, and in the Southern we have data which enable us to trace the development of these changes much more satisfactorily than we can do in the case of the Northern dialect. Unfortunately the history of the latter dialect is almost a blank for nearly three centuries, during which time Middle English emerged from Anglo-Saxon. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Northern dialect changed much more rapidly than the Southern, so that, in the words of Dr. Murray,[1] it has often by centuries inaugurated nearly every one of those structural changes which have transformed the English of Alfred into English as it has been since the days of Shakespeare. "Hence, of two contemporary writers, one northern and the other southern, the Englishman of to-day always feels the former the more modern, the nearer to him. Cursor Mundi and Barbour are infinitely more intelligible, even to the southern reader, than the Kentish Ayenbite of Invyt." The Southern dialect was, of course, tenaciously conservative. The earliest standard M.E. text, which shows a fully developed M.E. phonology, is the Ormulum, written about 1200 in the North-East Midland dialect, which is more closely related to the Northern than to the Southern. The earliest pure Southern text, which exhibits fully developed Middle English is the Ancren Riwle. To both of these texts we shall have occasion to recur later, when we treat their respective dialects. For the present we may dismiss them with the remark that they are really representative texts for the problem before us, the one (Ormulum) exhibiting uniformly the unrounded *ā*, the other (Ancren Riwle) as uniformly the rounded *ǭ*, for the A.S. open *ā*.

It seems advisable here to emphasize two principles. These are lengthening and shortening before certain consonant combinations.

Under lengthening, we must distinguish between two kinds in M.E.: the one lengthening before certain consonant combinations, the other lengthening of short vowels in open syllables. The former of these processes we saw was more or less operative in Anglo-Saxon, but in Middle English it is far more extensive in its operation. The conditions, however, remain practically the same; viz., the vowel which undergoes secondary

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[1] *See The Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland in Philological Society's Transactions*, 1870, p. 23 seq.

lengthening must be followed by a vowel-like + a consonant which is voiced, as *ld, rd, nd,* etc.[1] This rule is much more general in its application in M.E., than in A. S., where the process was evidently in its incipient stage. The second kind of lengthening is that which takes place in short vowels in open syllables. It is to be borne in mind, however, that only *a, o,* and *e* are subject to this species of lengthening, the high vowels *i* and *u* not being thus affected. The date of the incipiency of this process is, of course, difficult to determine. It will be remembered that something very similar to this lengthening occurred sporadically in A.S. in words introduced from Latin. But here the recurrence of the quantity does not appear to be of sufficient regularity to establish the rule. In M.E., however, the quantity is thoroughly established in these cases. It is worthy of note that even in some of the late A.S. texts, as Ælfric's Homilies, we encounter examples, also, as hērian, hāfenleast, hǣfene, ōfen (Matthew), ōfer, etc., for the regular herian, hafenleast, hæfene, ofen, ofer, etc. This process would naturally tend to increase materially the domain of the *ō*-vowel in M.E.

As to the second of the two principles mentioned above, viz., shortening before consonant groups, not much need be said. Such consonant groups as *st, ht, tt, dd,* etc., have in M.E., as is well known, the effect of shortening the preceding long vowel. Hence arise such forms as brŏhte (Orm.), sŏfte, răfte, frĕndshipe, chăpman, (h)laffdig, etc., where A.S. uniformly exhibits a long vowel. Kluge (Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 868) would place the origin of this process in A.S., but the evidence for the existence of this process prior to Middle English is of a negative character, and, at best, inconclusive. The effect of these back-shortening groups on the vowel in question is not of much moment.

Having disposed, in these general remarks, of certain preliminary principles, let us now turn our attention especially to the development of A.S. *ā* and *ō* in Middle English.

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[1] See Sweet, H.E.S. § 635; Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 868.

There existed in M.E. two distinct long *ō*'s, one of which was an open, the other a close sound. They represent the continuation of certain A.S. sounds, as *ō* which remains close in M.E., the development of certain other sounds which in A.S. had a different phonetic value, as *ā* which in M.E. is rounded into *ǭ*, and certain foreign sounds which were introduced during the contact of English with Danish and Anglo-French. These two distinct *ō*-sounds were sharply differentiated in M.E., and are rarely found combined in rime. The following is a tabular view of the more important A.S. sources of M.E. open and close long *o*: —

ǭ appears in M.E. from the following A.S. sources: —

1. A.S. *ā* of whatever origin.
2. A.S. *o* (of whatever origin) in open syllables.
3. A.S. *a*, *ea* (W.S. and Kentish breaking) before *ld*.
4. A.S. *a*, *o* before *mb*.
5. A.S. *o* before *ld*.
6. A.S. *ā* arising from *ǣ* (= Germ. *ai*) as in māst, mǣst.

ō appears in M.E. from the following A.S. sources: —

1. A.S. *ō* of whatever origin.[1]
2. Occasionally A.S. *ā* preceded by *w*, as in wā, twā, etc.

It will be noted of course that the foregoing table omits all foreign sources: with these we shall deal later. There is but one chief A.S. source for M.E. close *ō*, while for the open *o* there are several, notably A.S. *ā*, and A.S. *o* in open syllables. Now it is to be observed that A.S. *ā* was not everywhere rounded into *ǭ*, for in the Northern dialect, which represents geographically the region where the old Northumbrian prevailed, the rounding has not taken place, this dialect exhibiting with almost perfect regularity the unrounded *ā*. As might be expected, the old Northumbrian *a* before *ld* which in Kentish and West-Saxon underwent breaking and, therefore, appeared

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[1] Except when followed by *g* and *h* in final position (A.S. *ōh*, *ōg*) in which case A.S. *ọ̄* becomes M.E. *ū*.

as *ea*, is retained in M.E. as *ā* (long), as is also the old *a* before *mb*, exemplified in wāmb. The rule seems generally to hold good that in those texts or dialects where the old A.S. *ā* is preserved unrounded, the A.S. *a* before *ld* is likewise preserved, subject of course to the law of lengthening. Now whether the *ā* preserved in the Northern dialect had precisely the same phonetic value which it had in the A.S. period is questionable. At all events its development in this dialect is entirely different from that in the dialects south of the Humber.

The A.S. short *o* in all the dialects of M.E. became wide or open, and wherever this vowel occurs in an open syllable it was lengthened, thus giving rise to no inconsiderable number of open *ō*'s. A.S. *ea*, the breaking of *a* before *ld*, was of course simplified in late West-Saxon, reverting to *a*, which, before the group-lengthening *ld*, was changed into *ā* in late Anglo-Saxon or early Middle English, and this new *ā* was leveled under the old *ā* from A.S. *ā*, and later was rounded into *ǭ*. This class of words is exemplified in old, bold, sold, told, etc., and the changes undergone may be illustrated by the last, told. This from regular W.S. tealde became late W.S. talde, which, on being lengthened during the transitional period, became tālde, and the *ā* was in early M.E. rounded into *ǭ*, giving as the result the regular M.E. tǭlde. A.S. *o* before *ld* as in gold, and before *mb* as in womb, was lengthened into *ǭ*, and thus arose M.E. gǭld, wǭmb, and the class of words exemplified in these two. A.S. *ǣ*, *ā* from Germ. *ai* very rarely became M.E. *ǭ*, being regularly represented by the open *ē* in M.E., as in mę̄st, but yet M.E. mǭst does occur, which became in Modern English the regular form. A.S. *ō* was retained in M.E. with its old value of mid-mixed-narrow, and continued throughout Middle English, except in the Northern dialect, where during the 14th century it seems to have passed over into *ū*. There is one exception to the continuance of A.S. *ō* in M.E., and that is, that A.S. *ōg* and *ōh* in final position are changed, through the influence of the gutturals, into *ū*, as in M.E. bough, plough, ynough, tough, etc.

There remains still one class of words arising from A.S. *ā* which deserves special consideration. This class, which is not numerous, is composed of such words as who, two, so, etc. The peculiarity of the class is that their A.S. prototypes exhibit invariably *ā* preceded by *w* (A.S. swā, hwā, twā), and that in M.E. they vacillate between the open and close *ō*, gravitating, however, toward close *ō*, which finally became fixed. So then there is a small number of words which form an exception to the general rule that A.S. *ā* developed into M.E. *ǭ*. The *w* in Middle English had a narrowing effect on the immediately succeeding wide vowel *ā*, or the rounded *ǭ*, transforming it into the close *ō*. Of this class of words so and also have made a departure from the normal development. The explanation of this phenomenon may be found in the fact that these words in Middle English assumed, to a greater or less extent, the nature of an enclitic with the concomitant result of a shifting of stress. Another possible explanation may lie in the fact that so and also in Middle English, though they frequently exhibit the close *ō*, yet exhibit also the open *ō*; and that in these words, together with wood, the open *ō* developed, while in who and two, on the other hand, the close *ō* developed. However that may be, the vowel of so has not developed into the high vowel *ū* in modern English, as has that of who and two.

We have thus far only made mention of the foreign element, but now we draw particular attention to it. Of course the contact of English with Norman French and Danish supplied the chief sources of this element. We are not concerned here with the changes which Anglo-Norman words underwent at a later period under the influence of Continental French, which sometimes altered the entire form of a word, as, for example, the word treasure. This word is not derived directly from the M.E. tresour or tresor (< Lat. -ōrem), but from -ure (Fr. -üre < Lat. -ūra) (cf. Behrens,[1] p. 106, Sturmfels, Anglia, IX, 551,

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[1] Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England, von Dietrich Behrens. Französische Studien, V, 2.

552). Our attention then for the present will be confined to the consideration of the foreign sources of M.E. ǭ and ō.

M.E. ǭ corresponds to:

1. O.Fr. *o* (< Lat. accented *au* which, in Old French as well as in the Anglo-Norman dialect, gave rise to open *o*). Examples: close (< Lat. clausum, O.Fr. clos) riming with M.E. tos (A.S. tā 'toe'), arose (A.S. arās); los (Lat. laus, O.Fr. los) riming with glose, close; store, restore (Lat. restauro) riming with lore (A.S. lār), more (A.S. mār), tresor (Lat. thesaurum); O.Fr. tresor riming with sore (A.S. sār), hoor (A.S. hār), sore 'to soar' (< Lat. exaurare, O.Fr. essorer) riming with more; pore poore (< Lat. pauper, O.Fr. poore), which, however, fluctuates, riming now with ǭ and now with ō, but finally settling down into close ō, as the modern English word *poor* attests, etc.

2. O.Fr. *o* from Lat. *o* (*in positione* except before nasals), which in tonic and pretonic syllables became open *o*. Examples: cott (O.Fr. cotte) riming with throte (A.S. þrote), rote (O.Fr. rote) riming with note, host (O.Fr. hoste), cost 'coast' (O.Fr. coste, Lat. costa), tost 'toast' (O.Fr. toste), fole 'foal' (O.Fr. fol), which, however, vacillates between open and close ō, aproche 'approach' (O.Fr. aprocher), abroche 'abroach' (O.Fr. brochier), reproch 'reproach,' encroche 'encroach' (O.Fr. acrocher), broche 'broach' (O.Fr. broche), etc.

3. O.Fr. *ǫ* before *ri* (< Lat. ō in ōria, oria, ōrium, which became, of course, in O.Fr. ǫrie). Examples: glorie (O.Fr. glorie), victorie (O.Fr. victorie), memorie (O.Fr. memorie), offertorie, consistorie, oratory, etc.

4. Occasionally French nasalized *o* from Lat. *o* before *n*, as in persǫne beside persoune (O.Fr. persone, Lat. persona), proporcione beside proporcioune (O.Fr. proporcion), etc.

5. Lat. *o* in proper names such as Absalon, Demophon, Hermion, Palamon, Amazones, Nabugodonosor, etc. See Ten Brink, Ch. Spr. u. Versk. 71.

6. O.N. *ā*. as in bothe (< O.N. bāð) won[1] 'abundance' (O.N.

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[1] See Zupitza, Z. f. d. Oesterr. Gymn., 1875, 131.

wān), fro 'from' (O.N. frā), mole 'speech' (O.N. māli), broth 'violent' (O.N. brāðr), woth 'danger' (O.N. vāði), score (O.N. skār skora), wro 'angle corner' (O.N. vrā), wopen 'weapon' (< O.N. vāpn), low (<O.N. lāgr), blo 'blue-black, livid' (O.N. blār), gro 'grey' (O.N. grār), scold (O.N. skāld), þro 'bold, strong' (O.N. þrār), rothen (O.N. rāða 'to advise').

7. Dutch *ō* very rarely as in grote 'great' (Dutch grōte; cf. Low Germ. grote), crone (cf. O.D. kronie 'an old ewe,' Keltic crion 'dry, withered').

8. Keltic *ō* as in bost 'boast' (< Keltic bōst).

M.E. *ō* corresponds to:

1. M.E. *ǭ* of French origin with which *ō* interchanges in some words belonging to some of the above categories, as pore, fole, trone, persoun, proporcioun, etc., and in some proper names such as Rome, Alcyon, etc.

2. O.Fr. monophthong *o* arising from accented Lat. *ŏ* in open syllables. This *ō* occurs especially before *v*. Examples are not numerous because O.Fr. generally represented this sound by the diphthong *ue*, *œ*, which in M.E. produced close *e*, as in preef, repreve, preve, remeve, meve, etc. Move, remove (O.Fr. movoir beside mevoir), proof, reprove (O.Fr. prove beside prœve), approve (O.Fr. aprover), etc., etc.

3. O.N. *ō*, as in bone 'prayer,' boon (O.N. bōn), ros 'praise,' rosenn (Orm) 'to praise, to boast' (O.N. hrōs, hrōsa), crok 'crook' (O.N. krōkr), fro (O.N. frō 'good'), ro, 'rest, quiet' (O.N. rō), bothe 'booth' (O.N. cf. Icel. būð), rote, roote (O.N. rōt), sloþ 'track, slot' (O.N. slōðr), tom toom 'leisure' (O.N. tōm), blome 'bloom' (O.N. blōmi), oker 'usury' (O.N. ōkr < *wōkr) and the verb okeren, scogh 'wood' (O.N. skōgr), scope scoop (O.N. skōpa).

4. O.N. *ou* which was reduced to the monophthong *ō* (as in ore 'a coin, money,' cf. Icel. ourar), rothe[1] (O.N. rouðe), gome 'care' (O.N. gomu), los 'loose' (O.N. lǫuss), stop[2] 'bucket stoup'

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[1] See Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge, IX. 107.

[2] See Zupitza, Anglia, VII. Anz. 152.

(O.N. stǫup), scone 'beautiful' beside M.E. schēne (A.S. scēne) (O.N. skonu ?) windowe[1] < windōge (O.N. vindauga).

It will be readily seen that the domain of M.E. close *ō* was much enlarged by importations from foreign languages, while that of open *ǭ* was materially widened. Some words of course vacillated between open and close *ō*, as was the case with a few words of native origin. Witness such examples as poor, trone, fool, etc., which generally, however, exhibit close *ō*, and, further, proper names, as Rome, Alcyone, etc. Old Norse *ā*, which in the Southern dialects coinciding with the A.S. *ā*, was rounded into *ǭ*, was leveled in the Northern dialect under the old *ā*-vowel, which was probably narrowed at a later stage of the language into a genuine close sound. But in general these importations were treated alike in all the dialects. The sources as given in the table are by no means of equal importance in point of contribution. Old French, for instance, contributed of course the largest per cent, and Old Norse next, while Keltic and Dutch made but very small contributions to the language. The vowels of Old French will be seen by a reference to the table to have retained, in most cases in Middle English, the same phonetic quality which they possessed originally.

As to the graphic representation of the two sounds of long *o*, there is no distinction made in Middle English. Some of the early Southern writers use *oa* to denote the open *ǭ*, but their practice is by no means regular. Indeed, *oa* is really of very rare occurrence in Middle English. Its occurrence in the Ancren Riwle, Genesis and Exodus, and Layamon is at best exceedingly sporadic. The origin of this symbol is clearly Southern, like the traditional *ea* employed to denote the open *ę̄* sound, and the *a* was probably used as an aid to the eye to represent the open sound of long *o*, which in very early M.E., before the rounding was complete, cannot have been very far removed from the old low-back-wide *ā*. This symbol later found its way into Chaucer, who, though confessedly sparingly,

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[1] See Kluge, P. G. I. p. 791, 1.

employed it in hoast, coast (Dream, l. 1723). But the symbol was not destined to gain currency in the Middle English period. The usual graphic representative of both open and close ō in all the M.E. dialects alike is simply *o*. Chaucer's writings, however, often exhibit *oo*, which symbol recurs with considerable frequency for the open ō before *r* in open syllables, as Ten Brink[1] pointed out.

After this general discussion let us proceed to a detailed proof of the problem before us, and from an investigation of the documents themselves let us endeavor to determine from what sources M.E. ō and ǫ sprang, and how these sounds are represented in the several M.E. dialects. To this end we have examined certain representative texts of each of the M.E. dialects, and submit below the results of this investigation, together with the conclusions which, in our judgment, the facts legitimately warrant.

B. THE ō-VOWEL IN THE SEVERAL M.E. DIALECTS.

1. The Southern Dialect.

Texts: Old English Homilies of 12th and 13th centuries, edited by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1867; The Life of St. Juliana, from two old English MSS. of 1230 A.D., edited by O. Cockayne and E. Brock, E.E.T.S., 1872; The Life of St. Katherine, edited by E. Einenkel, E.E.T.S., 1884; Seinte Marherete, edited by O. Cockayne, E.E.T.S., 1866; Hali Meidenhad,[2] edited by O. Cockayne, E.E.T.S., 1866; Ancren Riwle,[2] edited by J. Morton, Camden Society, 1853, and Robert of Glocester's Chronicle, edited by Hearne, which belongs to a somewhat later period and to a more western region. Of these texts the Ancren Riwle represents the early Southern dialect in its purest form, and hence more importance is attached to this document than to the others.

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[1] Chaucer's Sprache u. Verskunst, § 32.

[2] *Cf. R.* Wülker in Paul and Braune's Beiträge, I. 209 seq.

o in the Southern dialect represents:

1. A.S. *ā* (low-back-wide) of whatever origin, which, however, in the very earliest texts is not yet rounded into *ǭ*, and O.N. *ā* as well. The Ancren Riwle occasionally writes *oa* for this open *ǭ*.

Ston A.R. 56, 70, St. Jul. stan 52, 62, 76; gon goð A.R. 10, 64, 98, St. Jul., Hom. ga 17, 21, 23, 27, 35; vo A.R. 62, voans 220, 242, 388, voamen 186, 220, Robt. Glosc. fon 86, 98, 100, 113, 215, 273, 558; icnowen, know, A.R. 64, 84, 92, 102, 204, cnaw Hom. St. Jul. 54, 64; clodes, cloðes, cloðinde A.R. 10, 12, 14, 16, 50, Robt. Glosc. 36, 105, 191, 271, claðes Hal. Meid., St. Jul., O.E. Hom. 3, 37, 47; holi, holinesse A.R. 8, 12, 20, 22, 24, 26, 44, 48, 54, 56, 74, 92, 102 beside hali 16, 18, Robt. Glosc. 8, 38, 74, 82, 119, 276; hali St. Jul., Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom. 7, 11, 19, 25 41, 45, 47, haligast Hal. Meid. 41, 43, 45; A.R. goste gostliche 14, 38, 44, 78, 92, 102, 138, 194, 368; St. Jul. gast 10, 44, 54, 60, 77. O.E. Hom. gast 25, 45, 47; noðing A.R. 50, 84, Robt. Glosc. 72, 101, 108, 184, naðing St. Jul., O.E. Hom. nawíht 17, 21, 27, 31, 33. one A.R., Robt. Glosc. none 7, 14, 17, 23, 46, 96, 97; St. Jul., Hal. Meid. an 19, 29, 31, 37, nane O.E. Hom. 7, 11, 13, 23, 35, 39; woke A.R. 12, 66, 178, O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid. wāk 7, 11, 15; ore 26, 32, 80, 136, 316, 406, 430, Robt. Glosc. 39, 57, 58; bihoten A.R. 6, 8, 28, 58, 62, beside bihat 6, O.E. Hom. ihaten 3, 17, 25, 41; dole 'part' A.R. 8, 10, 12, 44, 48, 112, 342, 414; lore A.R. 10, 28, 80, 198, 428, loare 250, 314, Hal. Meid., St. Jul. lare 22, 44, 74, O.E. Hom. lore 7; ꝥo (A.S. þā) A.R. 40, 54, ꝥoa 76, 78; wrote A.R. 12, St. Jul., Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom. wrat 13, 45; tocne token A.R. 50, 52, 58, 106, 300, 308, 316, 326, 374, O.E. Hom. tacnet itacned 5, 7, 9, 23, 47, 49; more mo A.R. 6, 30, 42, 62, 70, 74, 92, moare 54, 426, Robt. Glosc. 7, 13, 18, 23, 85, 95, 110, 176, St. Jul. mare 34, 42, 44, 52, 72, Hal. Meid. 9, 11, 13, 19, 27, 43, 45. O.E. Hom. 27, 45, 47, 281; hwo A.R. 18, 24, 26, 42, 78, 80, hwoa 6, 220, Robt. Glosc. 42, 103, but wham 11, 57, 72, 93, hwa Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom., St. Jul. 38, 40, 42; hom A.R. 48, ham St. Jul., Hal. Meid.; so A.R. 40, 48, 56, St. Jul. swa 18, 20, 24, 46, 52, 64, 68, O.E. Hom. swa alswa, 3, 7, 9, 17, 21, 37, 41, Hal. Meid. 27, 39, 43, 45; sore A.R. 32, 48, 56, 88, 90, 110, Robt. Glosc. 18, 23, 39, 52, 57, 98, 176, sare St. Jul., O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid. 27, 31, 37, 43; wot (A.S. wāt) A.R. 10, 48, 52, 54, 62, wat St. Jul., Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom.; lord A.R., Robt. Glosc. 33, 40, 57, 62, 67, 176, 216, laverd St. Jul. 2, 4, 16, 28, 40, 54, 64, 72, O.E. Hom. 13, 21, 25, 33, 43, 47, 285, oþ (A.S. āð) Robt. Glosc. 68, 357, wo A.R., Robt. Glosc. 11, 33, 52, 77, 86, 96, 100, 268, wa St. Jul. 22, 26, 42, 46, 50, 52, O.E. Hom. 33, 279, 283; two A.R., Robt. Glosc. 4, 7, 19, 22, 38, 73, twa St. Jul., Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom. 7, 17, 31, 33, 281; loð A.R., Robt. Glosc., lað St. Jul. 22, 27, 31, 37, 43; ban St. Jul. 52, 58, 62; rad O.E. Hom. 3, 5, 7; sowle A.R., Robt. Glosc., saule O.E. Hom. 15, 21, 27, 35, 41, 45, 279, 283; brode A.R., Robt. Glosc. (brade), O.E. Hom. 283; swat O.E. Hom. 281; aros Robt. Glosc. 41, 477, 549, 560, O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid., St. Jul. ras; wedlac St. Jul. 10, 14; aa St. Jul. 50, 54, 64, 74; smote A.R., Robt. Glosc. 16, 17, 19, 49, 175, St. Jul., Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom. smat; meidenhad Hal. Meid.; strokes Robt. Glosc. 17, 207, 210; bar St. Jul. 68; grap. St. Jul., O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid, grop A.R., Robt. Glosc.; wrað St. Jul., O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid.; childhad O.E. Hom.; hot A.R., Robt. Glosc. 7, hat St. Jul., Hal. Meid., O.E. Hom.; rapes (A.S. rāp), wak (A.S. wāc adj.), O.E. Hom.; drof A.R., Robt. Glosc. 38, 96, 269; bloawan A.R. 44, 210, blawen O.E. Hom., St. Jul., etc., etc.; boðe A.R. 358, 364, 372, 378, bað O.E. Hom., St. Jul., Hal. Meid., etc.

2. A.S. *o* in open syllables, which of course was lengthened. Since the texts do not vary at all in the representation of this *o*, a few examples will be sufficient: —

Broken, hole, ibore, iswore, spoken, loken, wroken, cropen, tholen, before, hoven, cole, oven, poke, smoke, throte, etc., etc.

3. A.S. *a* (*ea*) before *ld*, which in the earliest texts and even occasionally in the Ancren Riwle, is not rounded into *o*, but *still appears as a.*

tolde told Robt. Glos. 72, 279, 281, 283, 351, 353, A. R. 198, 224, 244, 278, 352, 354, 356, 366, 390, O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid., St. Jul. talde italde 40, 70; olde A.R., Robt. Glos. 74, 289, 493, alde O.E. Hom., St. Jul. 42, Hal. Meid. 15, 39; hold Robt. Glos. 48, 54, 60, 61, 89, 112, 551, A.R. 116, 130, 132, 136, 140, 206, 232, 242, 368, 372, 384, 388, 398, 400, 408, 410, 412, hald Hal. Meid. 29, 39, 41, 47, St. Jul. 7, 14, 28, 48, 50, 54, 66, 68, O.E. Hom. 11, 19, 21, 33, 43, 47, 277; bold Robt. Glos. 44, 58, 72, A.R. 270, but baldliche 62, 292, 354, 364, bald O.E. Hom. Hal. Meid. St. Jul. 8, 54; fold Robt. Glos., A.R. 180; two-fold 222, 194, 358; thusenfold 226; fald Hal. Meid. 23, O.E. Hom. monifald 21, 25; monifold 45; kold, cold Robt. Glos. 1, A.R. 368, 400, O.E. Hom., Hal. Meid., St. Jul. cald; nalde St. Jul. 8, O.E. Hom. 15, 33; walde Hal. Meid. 33, 39, St. Jul. 6, 7, 14, 22, 24, 46, 56, 58, 66, O.E. Hom. 11, 15, 17, 21, 25, 31, 39, Robt. Glos. A.R. nolde, wolde, 378, 382, 394, 396, 408; iseald sald O. E. Hom. 13, A.R. sold, etc., etc.

4. A.S. *a*, *o* before *mb* and *ld*, of which a few examples suffice, since the texts all agree in this point. Of course the *o* has simply been lengthened before *ld* and *mb*.

gold, comb, lomb A.R. 304; wombe A.R. 248, 368, 370, 378, 422, etc.

5. M.E. ǭ from Romance sources, in the representation of which the texts are all at one.

host, los, close, note, rote, dispose, trone, fole, noble, etc.

6. A.S. ō of whatever origin, as well as O.N. *ō*, *ou*. These sounds are all close ō and are represented by simple *o* in all the texts.

fod Hal. Meid., St. Jul., O.E. Hom., Robt. Glos., A.R. 10, 70, 78; don doð Hal. Meid., St. Jul., O.E. Hom., Robt. Glos., A.R. 6, 12, 52, 44, 50, 68; boc Hal. Meid., St. Jul., O.E. Hom., A.R. 8, 12, 54, 102, 172, 376; sone St. Jul., A.R. 8, 20, 48, 50, 62, 64; soð, soðlice soðfest Hal. Meid., etc., A.R. 12, 26, 50, 52, 60, 74, 92, 102, 108; blod Hal. Meid., A.R. 14, 16, 26, 50; broðer Hal. Meid., A.R. 8; dom St. Jul., A.R. 58, 60, 92, 118, 306; vot, fot Hal. Meid., A.R. 194, 390; stol Robt. Glos. A.R. 166; toð St. Jul., etc., A.R. 218, etc.; toke, skole, mone, bote, wisdom, kingdom, oðer, brode, flode, rode, good, etc., not to multiply examples needlessly.

It is clear from the above data that in the earliest Southern texts, as St. Juliana, Hali Meidenhad, O.E. Homilies, the A.S. *ā* was still preserved without any appreciable change of quantity, but in the Ancren Riwle and Robert of Glocester's Chronicle the *ā* was rounded uniformly into the back-wide *ō*. These latter texts very rarely show the unrounded *ā*. What is true of the development of the A.S. *ā* in this dialect is likewise true of the development of O.N. *ā* and of A.S. *a* (*ea*) before *ld*, both of which were rounded into *ǭ* in this dialect. The *ō* from Romance sources and the *ō* from A.S. *ō* are both represented alike in all the Southern texts, the former being an open, the latter a close vowel. The open *ō* from A.S. *ŏ* in open syllables, and from A.S. *o* before *mb*, needs no comment. The O.N. *ō* and *ou* were leveled under the close *ō* from A.S. *ō*. As to the graphic representation in this dialect, the symbol *o* is used alike for open and close *ō*, the Ancren Riwle very rarely exhibiting *oa*, which, when it is used, denotes the open *ō*.

2. The Kentish Dialect.

Texts: Old Kentish Sermons (Laud Ms. 471), ed. by Richard Morris in An Old English Miscellany, E.E.T.S., 1872; The Religious Poems of William de Shoreham, ed. by Thomas Wright, 1849; Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, ed. by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1866. The sermons are perhaps the earliest M.E. Kentish document we possess, dating from the latter part of the 13th century, while Shoreham wrote in the early 14th century, and Dan Michel, whose Ms. shows a very *pure and consistent* dialect, wrote about 1340.

o in the Kentish dialect represents:

1. A.S. *ā* (low-back-wide) of whatever origin, and O.N. *ā*. holi Serm. 26, 27, 28, Ayenb. Inw. 7, 8, 11, 28, 41, 54, 67, 88, 108, 128, 144; gost, gostlice Serm. 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, Ayenb. Inw. 28, 46, 54, 68, 76, 88, 98, 119, 133, 143, 146, 158, 199, 230; loverd Serm. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34.

Swo, so, alswo, also Serm. 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, Ayenb. Inw. 177, 189, 212, 214, 215, 221, 246, 249; gon goð Serm. 26, 27, 28, 33, Ayenb. Inw. 117, guoð 52, 91, 155, 168, 215, 223, guoing 231, iguo (partcl.) 242, 263, to guonne 185; ꝥo Serm. 26, 27, 32, Ayenb. Inw. 13, 141, 165, 207, 239, ꝥōs Serm. 29, 33, 34, Ayenb. Inw.

Ston Serm. 29, Ayenb. Inw. 63, 76, 81, 91, 133, 140, 143, 150, 152, 229, 242; none noon (A.S. nān) Serm. 31, 36, Ayenb. Inw. 29, 89, 141, 149, 173, 203; wot (A.S. wāt) Serm. 36, Ayenb. Inw. 19, 22, 71, 133, 158, 197, 207; hot Serm. 30, 35, Ayenb. Inw. 107, 139, 143, 153, 170, 171, hóót, hot Serm. 29, 36, Ayenb. Inw. hote, yhote (A.S. gehātan) 122, 148, 119, 186, 199, 200; tokne bitockned Serm. 30, 31, 34, 35, Ayenb. Inw. 68, 177, 181, 203, 232; aros aroos (A.S. arās) Serm. 32, Ayenb. Inw. 7, 13, 173, 213; wroþe Ayenb. Inw. 20, 22, 66, 94, 132; cloþ Ayenb. Inw. 45, 47, 133, 154, 165, 196, 216; noþing Ayenb. Inw. 112, 241; mo, more, evermo Serm. 29, 30, 34, Ayenb. Inw. 67, 69, 78, 82, 109, 116, 141, 161, 164, 180, 186; hol, yhol, hool Serm. 31, Ayenb. Inw. 62, 126, 129, 173, 203, 220; buones (A.S. bān) Ayenb. Inw. 148; bor Ayenb. Inw. 69; pope Ayenb. Inw. 62, 189; rode Ayenb. Inw. 12, 64; von, fon Ayenb. Inw. 255; maydenhod Ayenb. Inw. 227, 228, 230, 232, 233; spousehod Ayenb. Inw. 185, 223, 224, 234; wo Ayenb. Inw. 86, 87, 265.

NOTE. — As examples of the unrounded *ā* which occurs sporadically in the Ayenbite of Inwyt may be cited the following: blawe (A.S. blāwan) 168; knawe, beknawest, yknawe 69, 70, 74, 76, 100, 103, 104, 123, 132, 158, 160, 200, 211; zaule (A.S. sāwl) 151, 171, 172, 180, 183, 189, 200, 208, 222, 230; hwam 103, 131, 133, 148, 162, 166, 185, 187, 192, 194, 260, and so on.

It is to be observed that in the Ayenbite of Inwyt the old *ā* is retained generally in the Prest. and Partcl. of the reduplicating verbs II.; cf. Danker, Die Laut. und Flexionslehre der Mittelkent. Denkmäler, p. 12.

2. A.S. *o* in open syllables which was lengthened into open ō (ǭ); tobroke Shore. 27, ybroke Shore. 161, onbore Shore. 105, vorbore Ayenb. Inw. 188, ybore 20, ybore Ayenb. Inw. 45, 129, forlore Ayenb. Inw. 11, 13, 14, 92, 128, vorbode Ayenb. Inw. 8, 9, 45; tofore Ayenb. Inw. 90, throte Ayenb. Inw. 14, cole Ayenb. Inw. 82, 126, 205, etc., etc.

3. A.S. *a* (*ea*) before *ld* which in this dialect is often preserved in the old broken form, as *ea*, and sometimes written *ia*, *ya*, *yea*, *ye*, *e*, and *a*. This manner of writing shows the Kentish glide. Shoreham generally preserves the old *ea*. bold, boldliche Ayenb. Inw. 63, 100, 101, 158, 170, Shore. beald 92, 123; told, itold Serm. 28, 34, Ayenb. Inw. told teald, ytald 70, 239, etc., Shore. tealde 52, 92, ytelde 117; cold, chald Ayenb. Inw. 74, 139, 153, 170, 242; old, ald, yealde, yolde Ayenb. Inw. 7, 79, 16, 48, 124, 169, iald Serm. 27, ealde Shore. 52, 123; hold, halde, healde Ayenb. Inw. 5, 15, 18, 19, 23, 26, 128, 53, 65, 132, 145, 160, 196; beald Shore. 29, 64, 92; solde, salde, fold, fald, etc.

4. A.S. *o* before *mb* and *ld*. But *a* is also found here in all the texts.[1]

Lombe Ayenb. Inw. 236, Shore. 80, lambe Ayenb. Inw. 138, 232, Shore. 78; wombe Ayenb. Inw. 53; gold Ayenb. Inw. 90, 107; wolde Serm. 27, Ayenb. Inw. 16, 52, 73; nolde Shore. 32, 64, 21, Ayenb. Inw. 64, 132, 147, 173, etc.

5. M.E. ǭ and ō from Romance sources, for which *ou* and even *u* are occasionally written, especially before *r* and *n*.[2]

Reson Shore. 104, resoun 19; lion, lioun, religion, religioun Shore 75; corounes Ayenb. Inw. 15; saruum Serm. 31; colour Ayenb. Inw. 15, color colur 81; flour Ayenb. Inw. 81; emperour Ayenb. Inw. 71, 162, emperur 100, 101; glutouns Ayenb. Inw. 50, glotuns 56; errour Ayenb. Inw. 69, 70, Shore 30, 81;

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[1] See in this connection M. Konrath, Zur Laut. und Flexionslehre des Mittelkentischen, Herigg's Archiv, 89, 153 seq.

[2] Cf. O. Danker, Die Laut. und Flexionslehre der Mittelkentischen, *Denkmäler, p.* 17, Strassburg Diss., 1879.

fole Ayenb. Inw. 22, 23, 26, 46, 59, 64, 68, 86, 164, 205, 212, 244; filisofe, filizofe Ayenb. Inw. 164; trezor Ayenb. Inw. 96, 109; propre, propreliche Ayenb. Inw. 103, etc.

6. A.S. ō of whatever origin. This close ō in the Ayenbite of Inwyt and Shoreham is occasionally written *uo*, which writing would seem to point to a sound lying not far from *ū*; probably a diphthong.

guod, guodnesse, god Ayenb. Inw. 14, 17, 18, 58, 59, 61, 75, 77, 81, 123, 135, 144, 149, 156, 180, 213, 227, 237; wod (A.S. wōd) Ayenb. Inw. 56, 140; mone Ayenb. Inw. 82; zoþnesse, zoþ (A.S. sōð) Ayenb. Inw. 25, 29, 32, 51, 57, 65, 76, 77, 89, 136, 155; dome Ayenb. Inw. 11, 13, 14, 44, 47, 58, 74, 113, 134, 139, 152; do, don, doþ, to donne Ayenb. Inw. 25, 26, 28, 39, 45, 100, 113, 115, 134, 144, 151, 161, 165; vlod, flod Ayenb. Inw. 248; boc Ayenb. Inw. 5, 14, 42, 44, 61, 83, 94, 100, 133, 262; toke Shore. 20, 28; broder Shore. 11; blode Shore. 4, bloude 25, Ayenb. Inw. bloode 1, 41, 87, 107, 111; guos (A.S. gōs) Ayenb. Inw. 32; woþ Ayenb. Inw. 71, 93, 265; sone, toth, none, etc.

In few words, then, it appears from the above examination that the A.S. *ā* was generally rounded in the Kentish dialect, the Ayenbite of Inwyt exhibiting but few exceptions in which the old *ā* was preserved. The old *a* (*ea*) before *ld* was often, though not always, rounded into the long open *o*. Here Dan Michel not infrequently retained the *a* and even the broken *ea*, which sometimes appears with the peculiar Kentish glide as *yea*, *yia*, *ye*, *ya*. The A.S. *o* before *mb*, *ld* was of course retained, becoming, on being lengthened, open ō. The close ō from Romance sources is often represented by *uo*, and even by *u* in a few cases. This fact seems to be indicative of an incipient tendency for the ō to assume a *ū*-quality, or the *u* is to be regarded as a glide developed before *o*. This same phenomenon occurs, though less often, in the case of the native close ō, which in a few words as guod, is occasionally written *uo*. In this particular the Ayenbite suggests the Pricke of Conscience.

This dialect will be seen, then, to differ somewhat from the Southern, notably in the representation of the close ō.

We now leave the Southern dialect, properly so called, and enter upon the Midland. This dialect it seems advisable, for the sake of a more detailed survey, to divide, not only into the East and West Midland, but still further into South-east Midland, North-east Midland, South-west Midland, North-west Midland.

3. South-East-Midland Dialect.

Texts: A Bestiary in Old English Miscellany, edited by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1872; The Story of Genesis and Exodus, edited by Richard Morris, E.E.T.S., 1865; King Horn,[1] ed. by J. R. Lumby, E.E.T.S., 1866; Floris and Blanchflour, ed. by the same, and also by Emil Hausknecht; Sammlung Engl. Denkmäler, V, Berlin, 1885. Here we have the early texts, Bestiary, Genesis and Exodus, and the somewhat later King Horn, Floris and Blanchflour — all, however, written in the 13th century.

o in the South-east Midland dialect represents:

1. A.S. ā of whatever origin and O.N. ā, which are occasionally written *oa*, and even *oo*, especially in Gen. & Ex.: moal (O.N. māl) G. & E. 81; wo[2] Gen. & Ex. 69, 112, 237 (woa), 353, 638, 880 (woa), 1833, 2100, 2402, K.H. 115, 263, 295, Fl. & Bl. 585, 1116; more, mo Gen. & Ex. 70, 216, 354, 414, 423, 428, 577, 731, 2269, 2401, K.H. 95, 441, 595, Fl. & Bl. 620; loverde, lorda Gen. & Ex. 357, 1549, 1609, 2270, 2333, 2679, 2817, Fl. & Bl. 418, 431, 497; stone Gen. & Ex. 1120, 1604, 1636, 1777, 3871, K.H. 571, 1026, Fl. & Bl. 559, 635, 644, 703; none, no Gen. & Ex. 192, 223, 436, 646, 1126, 1594, 2113, 2229, K.H. 8, 10, 17, 572, 620, Fl. & Bl. 461, 509, 605, 801; gon Gen. & Ex. 1147, 1160, 1608, 1640, 1892, 2188, 2237, 2815, K.H. 97,

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[1] Cf. also Wissmann's edition, Strassburg, 1881, and King Horn, Untersuchung zur Mittelenglischen Sprache und Litteratur Geschichte, Strassburg, 1876.

[2] *Occasionally* rimes with close ō in *to do*.

187, 286, 356, 527, 699, 1351, Fl. & Bl. 837, 854; wroþ Gen. & Ex. 1215, 1735, 3317, K.H. 348, 1216, Fl. & Bl. 1091; lore Gen. & Ex. 3635, K.H. 442; got Gen. & Ex. 940, 1723; loþ 1216, 1736, 2024, 2696, 3318, Fl. & Bl. 1089; sore Gen. & Ex. 2050, 2202, 2568, 3223, K.H. 426, 656, 876, 1194, Fl. & Bl. 559, 635, 644, 703; ros, aros Gen. & Ex. 261, 1936, 2644, 3863, 4152, K.H. 837, 1313; þo Gen. & Ex. 840 ðoa, 988, 1551, 2191, 3894 ðoa, K.H. 50, 368; two Gen. & Ex. 941, 966, 1090, 1135, 2093, 2125, 2345, 2813, K.H. 49, 430, Fl. & Bl. 619, 780, 1115; bones Gen. & Ex. 2512, 3152, 3191; sowle Gen. & Ex. 2514, 2525, 3860, 4156; hom Gen. & Ex. 2200, K.H. 219, 647, Fl. & Bl. 760, 1269; glod Gen. & Ex. 75, 129, 157, 245; smote Gen. & Ex. 3363, 3871, K.H. 503, 639, 875, 1481; rod K.H. 595, 646, 685; alone K.H. 1025, 1113; cloþas Gen. & Ex. 1977, 2630, K.H. 1053, 1059, Fl. & Bl. 1072; token Gen. & Ex. 138, 2813, 2860, Fl. & Bl. 565; ore Fl. & Bl. 577; ooc Gen. & Ex. 1873; wot Gen. & Ex. 1473, 1839, 2177, 2229, 2280, 2408, Fl. & Bl. 789, 799; looc (A.S. lāc) Gen. & Ex. 1798; most, wooc (A.S. wāc), wrote, drof, to knowe, to blowe, ihote, but wham occurs once, K.H. 352; hali gast Gen. & Ex. 202, 2428, 2438, 2439, 2472; gastes 1486, 2994; cam (A.S. cām) Gen. & Ex. 224, 114, 355, 416, 446, 494, 697, 780, 950, 996, 1076, 1079, 1109, 1176, 1366, 1385, 1395, 1489, 1554.

2. *a* (*ea*) before *ld*, which becomes regularly *ǭ*.

tolde Gen. & Ex. 321, 657, 862, 920, 989, 1028, 1206, 1476, 1894, 1918, 1993, 2118, 2221, K.H. 982, Fl. & Bl. 473, 591, 825, 883, 961, 1227; bold Gen. & Ex. 323, 1917, 2121, 2728, K.H. 375, beside bald 90; colde Gen. & Ex. 2530, Fl. & Bl. 569, 962, hold Gen. & Ex. 1201, 3238, K.H. 307, 376, 670, Fl. & Bl. 474, 476, 782; solde Gen. & Ex. 1908, 1957, 1994, Fl. & Bl. 594, 826, 884, 1228; old Gen. & Ex. 575, 658, 919, 937, 990, 1027, 1206, 1357, 1453, 1475, 1907, Fl. & Bl. 709, 911, etc.

3. A.S. *o* in open syllables and A.S. *o* before *mb* and *ld*, both of which were lengthened into *ǭ*. It would be superfluous to adduce examples.

4. ǭ and ō from Romance sources, of which the examples given in the Southern dialect may also serve here, since the two dialects agree in the representation of these sounds.

5. A.S. ō of whatever origin and O.N. ō, etc., which of course retained their close quality, and which are sporadically written *oo.*

tooc, booc Gen. & Ex. 4124, but usually toc, boc 523, 3604, 3635, 945, 3913; mone 140, 144, 145; good 328, 334, 561; sone 343; mood 327; oðer 291, 417, 434, 589; broðer 420, 459, 3694; stood, stod 432, 595; flood 492, 562; flod 555, 599; bot 24, 2926, 2957, 3598; do 3604, 3608, 3925, 3969; bon (O.N. bōn) 2980; brod 3712; fot 376, 1303, 1474; rode 386, 388, etc., etc.

As regards the problem before us, the South-east Midland dialect seems to stand on the same footing as the Southern. The A.S. *ā* and O.N. *ā* have been generally rounded into ǭ (there being but few exceptions), as has also the A.S. *a* before *ld.* The writing *oa* is sporadically found, as loac, moal, loar, þoa, etc., and even *oo,* as in ooc (A.S. āc). The old close *ō* is preserved unchanged.[1] The usual symbol employed for this close *ō* as well as for open *ō* is the simple *o.*

4. North-East-Midland Dialect.

Texts: The Ormulum,[2] ed. by White, 1852, from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, and reëd. by Holt, Oxford, 1878; The Lay of Havelok the Dane, ed. by W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S. (Extra Series), 1868. Of the importance of the Ormulum for philological purposes it is not necessary here to speak. This monument represents the early North-east Midland in its purest form, while the others represent a later period of the language, the Lay of Havelok showing doubtless some scribal mixture of different dialects. This dialect, in its early period at least differs widely from the South-east Midland.

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[1] See Appendix for list of rimes.

[2] Cf. Kölbing's Collation in Englische Studien, I, 1.

1. A.S. *ā*, O.N. *ā* are retained in the Orm., but later become ǭ.

an, anan Orm. 5755, 8042, 8131, 8333, 8348, 8353, 8605, 9919, 10107; nan Orm. 5741, 5749, 8004, 8076, 10245, 19912, Hav. non 148, 210, 2083; lare Orm. 8344, 8574, 10116, 10246, 19762; laferrd Orm. 8489, 8495, 8497, 8505, Hav. loverd 118, 667, 1745; wha, wham, whase Orm. 55 (Introd.), 5720, 7917, 8030, 10217, Hav. who 4, 76, 83; swa, allswa Orm. 5753, 5756, 5765, 8017, 8035, 8075, 8095, 8152, 8188, 8228, Hav. so 64, 74, 337, 856; þa Orm. 5754, 5766, 8001, 8122, 8127, 8139, 8375, 8377, 8435; bones Hav. 1296, 1646; drof Hav. 1793, 1872; haliȝ Orm. 5769, 8022, 8587, 9905, 10117, Hav. 36, 136; gast Orm. 5769, 8043, 8066, 8116, 8415, 9924, 10247; tacnedd, betacnedd Orm. 5773, 7897, 7902, 7910, 8006, 8027, 8064, 8409, 8481; sare Orm. 7924, 7925, 8094, Hav. sore 236, 401 (sare), 455, 503, 1048; are Orm. 1199, 8346, 10165, 19174, Hav. ore 153, 2443, 2797; twa Orm. 7891, 8179, 8577, 8585, Hav. two 471, 865, 1804, 2890, 2968; wa Orm. 8341, Hav. wo 510, 541, 853, 2075, wa 465; laþe Orm. 8028, 8031, 8064, 8116, 8415, 8422, 8521, Hav. loþe 261, 440; blawenn Orm. 8080; grap Orm. 8125, grop Hav. 1871, 1965; sawle Orm. 8394, 8590, 9886, 10198, Hav. sowle 74; ma, mare Orm. 8109, 8157, 10146; mast 10122; smote Hav. 1828, 1843; aþes Orm. 4479, Hav. oþes 313, 419, 440, 578; ȝehatenn Orm. 8132, 8156, Hav. hoten 284; staness Orm. 9867, 9874, 9890, 9914; Hav. stone 928, 1023, 1633, 1790; cnawenn Orm. 9888, 10845; wat Orm. 19674, 19675, Hav. wot 213, 653, 1345, 2973; cloþ Hav. 1138, 1233, Orm. claþ 4587, 5525; wraþ Orm. Hav. wroþ 1117; gaþ Orm. 5541, 12724, Hav. go 509, 542, 934, 2957; gat Orm. 1196, 1200; hal Orm. 14817, 15519, Hav. hol 2075; ham Orm. 1608, 3546, Hav. hom 789, 1391; hat Orm. 15580, 16132, 16134; had Orm. 10855, 10992; lāc Orm. 1160, 1168, 4224; lacenn, nat, slaw, wac, etc.

2. A.S. *a* before *ld* was likewise preserved in the early period, but later rounded into ǭ.

haldenn Orm. 8088, 8258, 12877, 16972, 19908, Hav. hold; ald Orm. 8049, 8599, 8627, Hav. old 1639, 2803, taldenn Orm.

8258, 12880, 16972, Hav. told 776, 1036, 1172, 2075; bald Orm. 2185, 10262, Hav. bold 107, 194, 450, 955; saldenn Orm. 15557, 15559, 15960, Hav. sold 776, 1636, 1637; faldess Orm. 3339, 3773, Hav. fold; kald Orm. 3734, Hav. cold 450, 856, etc.

3. A.S. *o* before *ld* is, of course, retained, as in gold, but before *mb* the Orm. generally exhibits *a*, which, it is well known, also occurs beside *o* in A.S.

wambe 14168, 10383, 14351, 16301, 16310, 16639, lambe 12646, 12660, 12664, 12665, 12666. The writing shows, however, that the *a* had been lengthened. This *a*, of course, later was rounded into *ǭ*.

4. A.S. *o* in open syllables.

þolenn Orm. 11037, 11822, 12089, 19952; hope, clofenn, borenn, brokenn, bodiȝ Orm. 11501, 16294, 16304; ofer, hole, lofenn 16113, 16783, 13669, etc.

5. A.S. *ō* and O.N. *ō* (both close *ō*'s) are retained.

sloþ (O.N. slōð) Orm. 10708, 14590, blome (O.N. blōm) 10769, 10773; soð Orm. 10698, 10695, 13706, 13748, 16141; sone 13736, 13236, 10848; boc Orm. 10341, 11908, 11909, 19777, 19800; fode Orm. 19780; oðer 19802; rode 19811, 19816; toc 19793, 19819; dom 19885, 19887; god 19883; don 19907, 19943; bone (O.N. bōn), bote 17426, 18369, 18231, boþe (O.N. bōð) 15573, 15817; blode 11693, 11696, 11701, 11727; ro (O.N. rō) 19323, ros 'praise,' rote (O.N. rōt) 10543; to, mot, mone, mod, hof (O.N. hōf), fot, toþ, etc.

It is evident from the above material that we must distinguish between the early and late periods of this dialect, in the former of which the A.S. *ā* and O.N. *ā* are preserved unchanged, as is also the lengthened *a* before *ld* and *mb*, while in the latter they are all rounded regularly into *ǭ*. Very few exceptions occur. In other respects this dialect offers no peculiarities, the *o in open* syllables, the A.S. *ō*, O.N. *ō*, all being retained as close *ō*. But one symbol *o*[1] is employed for both open and close *ō*. This dialect in its early period is very similar to the Northern, in which the old *ā*, as well as *a* before *ld*, etc., is regularly retained.

5. South-West-Midland Dialect.

Texts: Layamons Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, ed. by F. Madden, 1847; The Romance of William of Palerne, ed. W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S. (Extra Series), 1867; The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, by William Langland (1362 A.D.) ed. by W. W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., 1867. We must distinguish at the outset here between the two Mss. of Layamon. The early Ms., which for convenience we call A, was written about 1200, and exhibits regularly *a* for the A.S. *ā*; while the later Ms., which we designate B, was written about fifty years later, and exhibits, with almost perfect regularity, the rounded ǭ for the old *ā*. It is the latter Ms.[2] that represents especially the early period of this dialect, Palerne and Langland being of later date. What is true of *ā* is likewise true of *a* before *ld*.

1. A.S. *ā*, O.N. *ā* are generally rounded into ǭ, except in Ms. A of Layamon.

wa A, wo B, 14466, 15112, 16165, 21910, Pal. wo 771, 1750; A aðes, B oðes 13089, 16891; A rad, B rod 13148, 13152, 13249; A claþes, B cloþes 13065, 13093, 13109, 13143; A igrap, B grop 12962, 16513, 20334; A swa, B so 12955, 13017, 13733, 14536; A þa, B þo 12912, 14016, 15773; A sare, B sore 12772, Pal. sore 770, 1377; A lare, B lore 12644, 14081, 14455, Pal. lore 346, 2917; A are, B ore 12497, 20437; A bare, B bore 12309; A ma, mare, B mo, more 12037, 12242, 11779, 11815; A aras, B aros 11972, 13138, 21703, aros Pal. 2744, 3280, A & B 404; A

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[1] Occasionally *oo* is found, as in K. Alis., flood, blood, tooth, stood, thoo, woo, noo, foon, foos, etc.

[2] Sweet, H.E.S., p. 155.

laþ, B loþ 11479, 12183, 15884, 16796; A wraþ, B wroþ 11478, 15842, 16448; A brade, B brode 10689, 15285; A ihaten, B ihoten 10473, 14809, 16235, Pal. hoten 405; A na, B no 10265, 11447, 11649, Pal. na 1271, no 1796; A twa, B two 12591, 12843; A biswac, B biswoc 14865; A pape, B pope 14886; A & B wha 15179; A stanes, B stones 15819, 15911, Pal. stone 1072; A smat, B smot 15303, 15564, smot A & B 1466; A laverd, B loverd 13427, 15844, Pal. lord 876, 1801; A blawan 16596, 16727; knowe Pal. 421, 1456; A unhal, B unhol 17185, Pal. hol 406, 534; A rap, B rop 20333; A ifa, B fon, fo 21066, 21378; A fon 7710; A flan, B flon 1844, 1813, A flon; A & B hom 19455, Pal. homward 2477, 2487; A & B gost 23986, Pal. 992, 2120; holi A 29614, B 12637, Pal. 306, 998; rore Pal. 86, 1851; go Pal. 1859, 4902; wham Pal. 769, beside whom 493, 721; wat Pal. 514, 840, 981; hot Pal. 907; loo! Pal. 1869; sowle Pal. 992; most Pal. 315; pope Lang. V. 609; wowes Lang. III. 61; ropere Lang. V. 323, etc., etc.

2. A.S. *a* before *ld*, etc.

A alde 6774, Pal. old Lang. VI. 85; A bald, B bold 11087, 14788, 16265, 20842, Pal. bold 121, 1087, 1136; A salde, B solde 12109, 13438; A talde, B tolde 12141, 12623, 13317, Pal. told 552, 1107, 1361, 1777, Lang. IV. 157, VI. 76; A cald, B cold 19756, Pal. cold 1656; halde B 3392, ihalden A 8951, etc. Lang. VI. 215; wombe Lang. III. 84, 193, VI. 257, etc.

3–4. A.S. *o* in open syllables and the *o* of Romance origin offer no peculiarities, and therefore no examples need be adduced.

5. A.S. *ō*, O.N. *ō* are likewise preserved with the close *ō* sound.

boc A & B 10841, 14432; dom A & B 14991, 22117; blode A & B 1468, 15530, 15941; broðer A & B 394, 16153, 16452, 20195; soð A & B 13002, 13885, 16917; stod A & B 10829, 20924; fote A & B 10554 14820; wode B 12413, 15236; idon A & B 14725, 15007, 15571; flod A & B 3894; to A & B 1286; for A

100, 4157; toc A 7976, 10175, A & B 12115; toð A & B 21384; mone A & B 17862, A 21091; none A & B 14039, 16595; tol A 29253; mote A & B 13333, etc.; goodis Lang. II. 75, V. 97, VI. 303; soth Lang. III. 216, IV. 80; tome (O.N. tōm) Lang. II. 185, etc.

In this dialect it is obvious from the above data that the A.S. *ā* was generally rounded into *ǭ*, as was also the *a* before *ld*, *mb*, etc., there being only a few exceptions where both *ā* and *a* + *ld*, etc., are retained. Of course this statement assumes that the older Ms. of Layamon does not really represent the South-west-Midland. It would be superfluous to comment on the open *ō* in open syllables and the old close *ō*, because they do not exhibit any variations from the East Midland dialects. As to the graphic representation, *o* is the usual symbol employed for both *ǭ* and *ō*, but *oa* occurs occasionally in Layamon and *oo* also, the former for the open *ō*, the latter for the close *ō*.

6. North-West-Midland Dialect.

Texts: Early English Alliterative Poems (the Pearl, Cleanness, Patience), ed. by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1864; Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight, An Alliterative Romance-Poem (about 1320 or 1330 A.D.), ed. by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1864.

o in this dialect represents:

1. A.S. *ā*, O.N. *ā*, which sporadically[1] occurs as the unrounded *ā*.

mo, more Pearl 132, 145, 156, 168, 234, 563, 851, 1189, mare 146; non, no Pearl 219, 687, 699, 721, 1189, Clean. 262, 588; anon Pat. 137, Gaw. 130, 546; so Pearl 222, 227, 259, 338, 517, 552, 735, 1177, Pat. 192, 261, Clean. 227; cloþes Clean. 1400, 1742, 1788, Pat. 105, Gaw. 885, 1184; home Clean. 1762, Gaw. 12, 1616, 1924, hame 2451; stone Pearl 206, 821, 993, 1005, Clean. 884, 983, 1120, 1280, 1396, Gaw. 162, 172, 671, 1738,

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[1] See Wilhelm Fick, Zum mittelenglischen Gedicht von der Perle, p. 24. Kiel Diss., 1885.

2230; blow Pat. 138; ros Gaw. 367, Pearl 437, 505, 518, Cl. 1009, 1766; grow Clean. 1043; lorde Pearl 285, 413, 501, 677, 1203, Clean. 94, 97, 410, 656, Gaw. 343, 545, 753, 909, 2505; wo Pearl 342; know Gaw. 546, knaw 348, Pearl 540, 1108; wroþe Pearl 379; gon Pearl 376, 558, 819, Pat. 348, Clean. 611, 1811; wham Per. 131, Clean. 259; sore Pearl 549, two Pearl 554, Pat. 136, Cl. 702, Gaw. 770; quo, who Pearl 746, 826, 1137, Clean. 1647, 1649, 1650; lo! Clean. 94, 541, Pat. 113, 172, Gaw. 2505; sawle Clean. 1599; hot Gaw. 1844; brode Clean. 603, 622, 1377, 1404, 1694, Pat. 472, Gaw. 14, 446, 967, 2233; boþe Pearl 329, 373, Clean. 242, 308, 502, 658, 1086, 1102, Pat. 36, Gaw. 18, 129, 155, 371; rop Pat. 270; gost Clean. 728, 1598; stroke Gaw. 294; foo (A.S. fāh) Gaw. 1430, 2356; ane beside one Gaw. 223; awen, aven, etc., Gaw. 10, 293, 836; bade Gaw. 1699, abode 687; hol Gaw. 1338, 1406, 2296, etc.

2. A.S. *a* before *ld*, *mb*, etc., but here the lengthened *a* is not infrequently found.

tolde Pearl 814, Clean. 1623; cold Pearl 807, Clean. 60, 1592, Pat. 264, 382, Gaw. 727, 731, 747, 818, 1732, 1844; holde Pearl 809, Clean. 64, 607, 1544, Pat. 14, hald Pearl 454, Gaw. 53, 627, 1125; folde Pearl 334, 735, 812, Clean. 643, 950, 1043, 1563, 1691, Gaw. 23, 196; ald Pearl 1041, old 1123, Clean. 611, Gaw. 1124; bold Gaw. 21, 272, 286, 351, 843, Clean. 1307, 1372, 1537, baldly Gaw. 376; lombe Pearl 801, 821, 829, 845, 860, lamb Pearl 407, 770; wombe Gaw. 144, Clean. 462, 1250, Pat. 306, beside wame, etc.

3. A.S. *ō*, O.N. *ō*, which still retain the old close quality. For this the writing *uo* is very rarely employed, which may point to an incipient tendency of the old mid-back *ō* to develop into the *ū* sound.

blode Pearl 740, 765; wode Pearl 742, Clean. 204; toke Pearl 807; boke Pearl 836; sone Pearl 1077, Pat. 193, Gaw. 1743; mone Pearl 1092; fote Clean. 79, 88; soþ Clean. 1643, *1737, Pat. 212,* Gaw. 84, 355, 673, 976; stor Gaw. 1291, 1923;

tole, tool Gaw. 413, 2260, Clean. 1108, 1342; tom (O.N. tōm) Pearl 134, 584, Clean. 1153, Pat. 135; wrot (A.S. wrōt) Pat. 467; brom Pat. 392; dom, dome Pearl 157, 579, 666, Clean. 597, 632, Pat. 203, Gaw. 295, 1216, 1968; forsoke Gaw. 1826, oþer Clean. 338, 340, 742, 1704, Pat. 176; don Clean. 692; broþer Clean. 772; mote (A.S. mōt) Gaw. 635, 910; rode Gaw. 1949, goud, good Gaw. 1500, 1969, 1535, Cl. 1200, 1326, Pearl 33, 567, 730, 733, etc.

The remaining occurrences of *o* demand no special mention, offering as they do no variations from the normal representation in M.E.

In this dialect we see that the A.S. *ā* was generally rounded into ǭ, which, as the rimes show, is very rarely combined with the close *ō*. A few cases of the old *ā* survive, but these of course are very readily explained by the proximity of this dialect to the Northumbrian. On the same ground may the somewhat frequent occurrence of *a* before *ld*, *mb*, beside *o*, be explained. The old close *ō* is preserved, but with a slight tendency, it seems, if we are to credit the writing *uo* as in guod, to become *ū*. This phenomenon of itself seems, however, insufficient to build a theory upon; but it is rather significant in view of the facts in the adjoining Northern dialect, where there is no doubt that the old *ō* had begun to pass over into the *ū* sound.

7. The Northern Dialect.

Texts: Cursor Mundi (The Cursor of the World), A Northumbrian Poem of the 14th century in four versions, two of them Midland, ed. by R. Morris, E.E.T.S., 1874 seq.; The Pricke of Conscience, by Richard Rolle de Hampole, ed. by R. Morris, 1863 (Philological Society), on which texts the following investigation is based. The Cursor Mundi probably dates from the latter half of the 13th century, according to Hupe,[1]

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[1] But the Cotton Ms., according to Hupe, must be assigned to late 14th or early 15th century. See his discussion of the Mss. of the Cursor Mundi, Part VII., p. 113 seq.

while the Pricke of Conscience was written about 1340. Of the Cursor, as is well known, there are four Mss., two of which are Midland. When, therefore, we cite examples, we always cite from the Cotton or Goettingen Ms.; for of the other two, the Fairfax occasionally, and the Trinity almost without exception, show, for example, *o* for the *a* of the former two. In this dialect the old *ā*, as has already been pointed out, is faithfully preserved, which preservation is one of the distinctive features of the dialect. But the quality[1] of this *ā* is different from that of A.S. *ā* or the Southern *ā*. It was not so open as the early Southern *ā*, which later was rounded into *ǭ*.

1. The old North. *ā* and the O.N. *ā* are preserved in this dialect and correspond to the rounded *ǭ* of the South.

swa P.C. 28, 32, 34, 261, 309, 315, 418, 905, 1420, 1475, C.M. 12686, 12728, 12565, 13057, 12967; knawen P.C. 907, 990, 1389, 2279, 2358, 2411, 2861, 7500; C.M. lare: mare 13884, 13892, 14326, 14714, P.C. 926, 944, 965, 1050, 1208, 1448, 2851; ham C.M. 12562, 12634, 12678; P.C. bane 910, 2319, 2913, 3108, 6861; hali C.M. 12645, 12677, 12924, 12867, P.C. 1152, 1200, 1789, 1854, 1960, 2122, 2139, 2206, 2513, 3321; na: mar C.M. 12713, 12720, 13164, P.C. 927, 1352, 2849, 3030, 3887, 5849; ga P.C. 928, 1277, 1580, 1843, 2117, 2625, 2961, 8937, C.M. 13057, 12565; brade P.C. 933, 1484, 8889; bath C.M. 12756, 12983, P.C. 1260, 1500, 1858, 1926, 2214, 2402, 2797, 3072, 6158, beside bothe 1002, 7450, 8804; laverd C.M. 12825, 12849, 12855, 12939 P.C. loverd, lord 3667, 5089, 5740, 5404, 5532, 5870, 6118, 6162, 6208; lo! P.C. 5891; wa C.M. 12779, 12954, 13022, P.C. 1002, 1260, 1452, 1610, 2116, 3048, 7401; gane P.C. 1995, 2507, 3750, 6497, 7699; wate P.C. 2493, 2506, 2635, 2694, 3119, 7697; clath C.M. 12680, P.C. 2505, 5565, 5573, 6156, 6196, 6945; sawl P.C. 1320, 1687, 1692, 1704, 1756, 1803, 2007, 2552, 3155; wrath C.M. 13170, 13923, ath; wham P.C. 1252, 1647, 1867, 2884, 3485, 4485, 5336; rare P.C. 7341, 7351; shane P.C. 6243, 9142,

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[1] Cf. Böddeker, Englische Studien, II., p. 346 seq.; Brandl, Thomas von Erceldoune, p. 54.

9183; papes P.C. 3875; stane P.C. 3036, 4714, 8056, 8857, 8900, 9071; mast P.C. 1078, 1214, 1666, 1816, 2881, most 1012; wrat C.M. 14398; ras C.M. 17851, 18551; fas, lath, twa, sare, gast, blaw, taa, fra (O.N. frā), C.M. 1180; wan (O.N. wān), 641, 652; bath C.M. 793, 1101; braith (O.N. brāðr) 1092, 2632; waith (O.N. vāði) 794; male (O.N. māl) 5376; scale (O.N. skāli) 8592, beside scole 12090 (and score 1675, 5335), etc.

2. The old North. *a* before *ld*, *mb*, is likewise retained.

cald P.C. 3065, 3251, 6637, 6643, 7480, 7612, 9440, C.M. 15910; salde C.M. 4241, 5407, 14727, 14738, P.C. 4849; talde P.C. 1351, 1510, 2107, 2917, 2929, 6420, 6535, 6638, 7170, C.M. 2392, 8765, 13330, 14727; balde P.C. 2916, 7169, C.M. 12954, 2675; alde P.C. 1511, 2106, 4926, 6419, C.M. 209, 12578, 12756; hald P.C. 2789, 4086, 4094, 4119, 4396, 4430, 5517, C.M. 1332, 13148; falde P.C. 3250, 4040, 4640, C.M. 110; wambe P.C. 4161, etc.; lamb C.M. 690, 6072, 6110, 10380, 21677.

3. In open syllables the old North. *a* is retained, as is also, of course, the old North. *o*, in which positions they were both lengthened. These vowels are open.

make C.M. 3016, 3257, 6601, 3373, 11036, P.C. 72, 74, 101, 14857; spade C.M. 1239; schame C.M. 2026, 2202, 839, 17117, 15304; name C.M. 406, 2649, 2769, 4808, 5755, 9543; tame C.M. 17326; tale P.C. 7702; scapen C.M. 367, 27175, 8076, 28073, scaper 12899; undertaken: forsaken C.M. 917, 10254, 23805, 7327, 3794, 23793; naked 989; lake (A.S. lacu) C.M. 2863, 2887, 11934; dale (A.S. dalu) C.M. 405, 1251, 13464, P.C. 1166; vane, ale, bale, bake, hare, ape; broken C.M. 611, 25710, 27395; spoken C.M. 612, 1757; wraken C.M. 2586, 13067; hofen, hoven C.M. 8035, 19882, 25700; thole C.M. 1619, 7312, 10397, 16728, 16127, P.C. 2752, 2776, 2783, 3515; hope C.M. 1113, 3054, 7494, 5010, 20807, 25089, 27298; smoke P.C. 4727; cole P.C. 6762; bifore, etc.

4. The ǫ of Romance origin is retained in this dialect as in all others. The close ō is occasionally written *u*.

host C.M. 6223, los 1452; note C.M. 7407, 22467, 23763, 25204; rote 7408; fole P.C. 126, foly 7855, C.M. 9187, 12089, 13041, 16203, 2777, 14802, 16643, fule 12089; trone C.M. 505, 5290, 8540, 20836; P.C. glorifyde 8014, propre 6866; close C.M. 8241; glose P.C. 4473, 4479, 5450; dole C.M. 13040, 23975 dule, P.C. 3218; pore, pover C.M. 1796, 10386, 4375, 28172, 6798 pur, 28586 pure, P.C. pur 1458, 5574, 3450 pure, 8257 pore; prove C.M. 3656, 4383, 4773, 1077, 6625, 23810, P.C. pruve 5910, 3530, 1016, 7708, beside prove 1318, 936, 1086, move C.M. 9738, P.C. 7708, etc.

5. A.S. *ō*, O.N. *ō*, appears in this dialect as *o*, and not infrequently as *u*. Of such frequent occurrence is this *o* (also written *u*), riming with genuine *ū*, that we seem forced to the conclusion that the old *ō* has really begun to change its quality and pass over to *ū*.

dome C.M. 2906, 216, 1797, 4976, 6667, dum 8652, P.C. 2600, 2617, 2800, 2853, 2923, 7777; do done P.C. 2270, 2455, 2464, 3191, C.M. 340, 387, 618, 116, 1406, 29319, 5703, 6140, 4149, 28969, doos, dus 5208, dune, dun 7107, 8662; sone P.C. 2271, 2454, 2465, 2689, 3185, 3284, C.M. 711, 787, 1388 sun, 3639 sun, 339; boke, buke, luke P.C. 928, 2673, 1128, 1759, 2301, 6869, 7717, boke 969, 1328, 1560, 1778, 6421, 6870, loke : boke C.M. 12596, bok : tok 12668, 12836, bok 121, 627, 1470, 13884, 20742, buk 6041; blode P.C. 1781, 4727, 5196, 5231, 5300, C.M. 519, 3563, 5054, 5265, 4162 blody; rote P.C. 1907, 1909, 1916, C.M. 36, 2316, 4711, 28744, 9269; ros C.M. 7747, 11948, roos 13894, 26935; rode P.C. 1780, 5209, 6533, C.M. 198, 21005; blode, 20066, 20096, 21628 gode; fote P.C. 1493, C.M. 20120, 20884, 14146, 14890 bote; fode P.C. 6708, C.M. fode : gode 13276, 13352, 13516; gude P.C. 952, 2390, 2401, gode C.M. 37, 276, 28825, 7442, gud 25833; flode P.C. 4845, 4894, C.M. 1042, 1043, fludd 1854; wode P.C. 1608, 1651, 6864, 6917, C.M. 7419, 13186; soth P.C. 6175, 6210, 8068, 8656, 8275, C.M. 3855, 300, 5809, 2552, south 777, 1103; suthly P.C. 6175, suthefast, suthfastness *4268, 6128; tome* (O.N. tōmr) P.C. 6248, C.M. 2128, 14595, fro

(O.N. frō) C.M. 258, 23568; slogh, sloth C.M. 1254, 1285, 4791, 18786; ro (O.N. rō) C.M. 1007, 7418, 24163; crok (O.N. krōkr) C.M. 700, 18104, 23252, 25060; brother : another C.M. 1994, 21091, 21131; mot P.C. 4207, 7397, 7398; stod : wod C.M. 14282, stod C.M. 17121, 17672, 11332, 1333, stud 1852; toth C.M. 6040, 6701; tor (O.N.) C.M. 13927, 24544; to : so C.M. 20359, 20435, 20475; com C.M. 1257, 681, 2766, 24514, P.C. 506, 2245; non C.M. 988, 19810, 21932; bone (O.N. bōn) C.M. 3690, 8414, 25117, 13156, 19045 bone : none.

6. Examples of *u*-, *o*-rimes in the Pricke of Conscience.

wode : gude 100, 1608, 1650; buke : loke 526, 644, 2300; luke : buke 368, 928, 1128, 1758, 2672, 6408; luke : boke 205, 6870, 7718; gude : fude 652; rude : gude, 9585; lufed : byhufed 944; byhufe : prufe 1016; byhoves : boke pruves 5910; pruve : lufe 3530; lufe : prove 1086; lufes : profes 1182, 1844, 9492; fortone : sone 1273; pur (poor) : mesur 1458, 5574; forluke : boke 1946; duse (do) : accuse 5484; dose : use 7633; gude : mude 2390; gude : rude 5384; buke : tuke 2808, 5508, 5804, 8686; buke : touke (took) 5500; pure (poor) : dore 3450; use : duse 3674; gude : blude 5532; smoke : luke 4727; dom : bughsom 49; bousom : come (inf.) 85; redempcyoune : devocyone, 7252; resoune : doune 7229; dongeoune : doune 7214; stature : pore 8257; pruves : moves 7708; don : parson 3980; doun : parsoun 4958; dom : come (inf.) 358, 4732, 4820, 4857, 4924, 5029, 5089, 5120, 5164, 5172, 7188, 7778; boke : smoke 7100, 8592; buke : smoke 9402; colour : flour 694.

Add to these the following from the North. Benedictine Rule: gude : mode 292, 609; mode : gude 306, 666, 1030; cum : dom 519, 2317, 1311; wouke : luke 1549; crystendoume : cum 1898.

The Northern dialect exhibits vast variations from all the other dialects. Here we find the old North.[1] *ā* (which prob-

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[1] We are not concerned with the *ā* introduced from Romance sources, which was of course retained here as in all the other dialects, because the rounding of the *ā* into the *ǫ* seems to have been completed before the Romance *ā* found its way into English.

ably was not so open a vowel as the same in the South) preserved, as well as the old North. *a* before *ld*, *mb*. Now a few cases of *ō* for the old *ā* appear, and it is a very reasonable supposition that such words as form the exceptions, as loverd 'lord' (of very frequent occurrence in the Pricke of Conscience), were introduced from the South. However that may be, only a few cases occur as exceptions to the rule. The old North. *a* and *o* in open syllables are of course retained, and are both open vowels. The *ō* of Romance origin is not infrequently written *u*, which seems very significant as pointing to a sound very like, if not quite, *ū*. The old close *ō* seems certainly to have undergone a very remarkable change, for here our texts exhibit with striking frequency *u*. This phenomenon I take to be conclusive evidence that the old *ō* had certainly begun to be raised to the high position which later, as is well known, became generally established. This conclusion seems inevitable from the evidence furnished by the writing and rimes, not only of the Cursor Mundi and Pricke of Conscience, but of other Northern texts as well, as the Benedictine Rule.[1] Some words, such as gude, in Pricke of Conscience, recur with a frequency amounting almost to regularity. Nor is this incipient change from *ō* to *ū* confined to words of pure English origin, but appears in words borrowed from Romance and Old Norse as well. The treatment of the *ō* in the other dialects, as we have seen, offers no parallel to this.[2] The appearance of this change in the Northern dialect first is quite in keeping with the history of the development of English sounds.

As to the graphic representation of the vowels concerned, the usual symbol is *o*, *u*, *ou* and *oo* also being employed. There is some little confusion between the open and close *ō*, as is the case in the other Middle English dialects, but generally the two sounds are separated in rime.

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[1] Cf. K. Böddeker, Ueber die Sprache der Benedicktinerregel, Englische Studien, II. 344.

[2] Unless we include the *u*-glide before *o* in the Kentish.

8. The Dialect which gave Rise to Standard English.

Having passed in review all the Middle English dialects properly so called, and sketched the course of development of the vowel in question, we are now prepared to consider the dialect of Chaucer and the London State and Parliamentary documents during the period embraced between the dates 1384 and 1430. The text used for Chaucer is the edition of Morris. The Parliamentary documents not being accessible, the results of Morsbach's investigation into the language of these documents have been made use of. In the development of the vowel under consideration, this dialect, which is of a somewhat composite character, has not been found to differ materially from the Southern, as the examples cited prove.

ǭ in this dialect corresponds to:

1. A.S. ā and O.N. ā.

anoon : gon Frank.T. 752, Sec.Non.T. 141, Chau. Yem.T. 91, 320; go : two Frank.T. 340, 617, 657, Somp.T. 128, 143, 234, Sec.Non.T. 250; lore : more Man Law's T. 244, Sec.Non.T. 372, 414, Prol.Chau.Yem.T. 290; sore : lore : more, Man Law's T. 660, Prol.Wyf.Bath's T. 583, Troy. and Cres. II. 562; more : yore : sore Man Law's T. 885, March.T. 697, 872, Sq.T. 116, II. 58; also : go : wo Man Law's T. 800; Frank.T. 673, 679, Sec.Non.T. 519; also : wo; mooste : gooste Leg.G.W. (Dido) 368; mooste : woste Troy. and Cres. 720, II. 1368, 1410; allone : mone (moan) Troy. and Cres. 97, 694, Rom.Rose 2395, 2626; glod : brood (A.S. brād) Sq.T. II. 48; stones : bones Troy. and Cres. III. 540, Prol.Pard.T. 61; anoon : foon Rom.Rose 5544, 6941, Monkes T. 712; otes : grootes Prol.Pard.T. 90, Somp.T. 257; yore : lore Doc.Phys.T. 70, Schipm.T.Prol. 5, Frank.T. 235; agroos : aroos, soo : tho, woo : soo, woo : tho, everychone : grone, to goone : woone, knowe : lowe, sore : rore, woot : hoot Prol. Wyf.Bath's T. 540, Frank.T. 137, March.T. 881; gone : schone : stoon Clerk.T. 180; woot : boot (A.S. bāt), wroth : oth March.T. 1067, goth : wroth 1105; both : wroth, Troy. and Cres. 140.

Note. — In the Reves Tale, where Chaucer purposely uses the North. dialect, the old *ā*, of course, occurs (not to the exclusion of *o*, however), but nowhere else; as na 106, 214, 255, nan 265; ham 112; gas 117; bathe : lathe 167; banes : anes 153; alswa : ra 166; bar 13, 293, etc.

2. A.S. *a*, *o* before *ld*, *mb*.

colde : holde Frank.T. 287, 570, Doc.Phys.T. 210, Tr. and Cr. 261; olde : byholde : tolde Sec.N.T. 180, 300, withholde: colde : tolde Sec.N.T. 345, Man Law's T. 781, 320; gold : itold Prol.Ch.Yem.T. 73.

bold : told Doc.Ph.T. 140; wolde : biholde : tolde Clerk.T. 5, 51; scholde : wolde 110, 205; sholde : molde Tr. and Cr. 76, golde : bolde, Court of Love 358; told : wolde : manifolde; withholde : folde Prol.Cant.T. 511, Kn.T. 450; old : gold 1283, old : told 1268.

3. A.S. *o* before *rd*; but the length of this *o* is not well established. It is now treated as long, and now as short.

bord : word Somp.T. 468, 543, Clerk.T. 3, Sq.T. 77, 89, word : lord March.T. 243, Maun.T. 137, Boke Duch. 101, word : boord Millers T. 253, borde : orde Leg.G.W. (Cl.) 64, hord, hoord, etc.

4. A.S. *o* in open syllables. This *ō* is phonetically the same as the *ō* from A.S. *ā*, as the examples show.

therefore : swore Knightes T. 810; more : bore Knightes T. 683; throte : cote Knightes T. 1600, Nonne Pr.T. 15; note : throte Millers T. 31, Boke Duch. 320; more : before Ch.Dream 135, 1320, 1435, 1980; tofore : more Boke Duch. 190; bore : lore; bifore : more Frank.T. 727, 850, Ch.Yem.T. 155, 255; hope : grope Prol.Ch.Yem.T. 125, 226.

cole : hole Ch.Yem.T. 150, 185; throte : Pertilote Nonne Pr.T. 50, 65; smoke : ybroke House of Fame II. 261, Prol.Wyf. Bath.T. 278; hope : drope Tr. and Cr. 941; more : yswore Leg.G.W. (Did.) 360; sore : before Prol.Wyf.Bath.T. 631; spoken : wroken : broken Tr. and Cr. 86, 209; wherefore, cole, thole, etc.; ibore : bifore : therefore Clerk.T. 100, 114; swore : *bore Sq.T. 318.*

5. ō in words of Romance origin.

bost : oost : goost Man of L.T. 403; rose: suppose March.T. 787, Tr. and Cr. II. 1255; pore : fore Prol.Wyf.Bath.T. 110; nose: suppose Prol.Wyf.Bath.T. 787; glose : suppose Somp.T. 84, 212, Tr. and Cr. IV. 1380, alloone : persone Wyf.Bath. 305; restore: evermore Cl.T. 84; oost : wost Ch.Y.T. 100, loos : cloos Ch.Y.T. 357; alloone : troone Pard.T. 380; story : consistory Doc.Phys.T. 161, 257; glose : suppose Monk.T. 150; host : cost Prior.T.Prol. 1; note : rote Prior.T. 70; host : bost Monk.T. 617; toos : cloos Nonne Pr.T. 511; throte : cote Nonne Pr.T. 15; disposed : iglosed Prol.Manc.T. 33; unclose : prose Leg.G.W.Prol. 65; unclose: rose 112; tresour : more Rom.Rose 2085; soole : doole Rom. of Rose 2957; coost : moost (A.S. māst) Rom. of Rose 2477, 3931; sool : fool 3335; rose : nose 3659, 4117; close : rose 3637, 4097, 4230, 4371; sore : restore 5124; prove : love 5226; purpose: close 5392; force : croce 6471; reprove : bihove 7583; more: restore Tr. and Cr. IV. 1318; sermone : opinyone Tr. and Cr. II. 1298; approche : galoche Sq.T. II. 210; glose : close; noote: rote Prol.C.T. 235; pore : rore Tr. and Cr. IV. 42; trone : sone Tr. and Cr. IV. 1148, Sq.T. 267, which, of course, exhibits close ō.

6. A.S. ō, O.N. ō of whatever origin.

good : flood Tr. and Cr. III. 589; foot : soot : mote 1145; goode : stode : hood, II. 1180; boote : foote : roote II. 347, Sq.T. 147; soote : foote Sq.T. II. 45; moone : doon Tr. and Cr. 1024, III. 498; done : mone : sone, II. 75, 1310; stood : mood Millers T. 250; blood : wood Prol.C.T. 635, Knightes T. 1773; wood : flood Millers T. 331; boone : soone; dome : blome: grome; wooke : booke : tooke Tr. and Cr. IV. 289; moone : to done 377; quooke : wooke : looke 926; broode : goode; soth: doth Wyf.Bath.T. 85, etc.

Of these classes all but the last and a few Romance words were represented by the open ǫ in Chaucer. In other words, the close ō in Chaucer appears only in a few Romance words, comparatively speaking, and in native words in which the *ō* corresponds to A.S. *ō* or O.N. *ō*. These still retained their close quality. As the examples of rimes adduced show, Chaucer distinguishes quite clearly between the open and close *o*. But there are, nevertheless, some cases of confusion even in Chaucer, as there are in most M.E. writers. These do not, however, occur with sufficient regularity or frequency to invalidate the theory of separation in rime of open and close *ō* in Middle English.

We have elsewhere[1] collected these exceptions, gathered from an examination of the entire body of Chaucer's writings. We here content ourselves with giving a few of the representative examples, so that the reader may see for himself in what class of words this confusion is exemplified. Such words as also, so, two, wo, as one might expect, rime with close *ō*, because in these words the *o* is preceded by *w* (so A.S. swā), which had a very narrowing effect on the open *ō* in Middle English, and converted it from an open into a close *ō*. Because of the enclitic character of so, and the shifting of accent, so and also have not followed the normal development as who and two, for example, have, passing into modern English *ū*, but have been deflected into another course, or rather, have not departed from the regular course of development of the M.E. *ǭ* (from A.S. *ā*). The word wo — probably prevented by the already existing word wo (A.S. wōgan) from a similar development into *ū* (which would naturally lead to some confusion) — has shared the fate of so; while womb[2] (A.S. womb), under the influence of *w*, seems to have coincided with the who-class. Thus much is clear, that the M.E. *ǭ* (< A.S. *ā* preceded by *w*) vacillates in Chaucer, riming now with open and now with close *ō*. But apart from this class, there are examples of confusion; as for instance, go, anon, mone (moan), one, lo, alone, everychon, fro, — all riming with do and its compounds; mo, tho, go, lo, — all riming with to and its compounds; soth occasionally riming with wroth;

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[1] See Englische Studien, XX, 341.

[2] This word may, however, have been influenced by the French word *tomb, which has the ū-sound.*

home riming with come and doom. These exceptions may be explained on the supposition of the exigencies of the verse.[1]

idoo : soo Rom. of Rose 1941; twoo : adoo Rom. of Rose 3035, Frank.T. 467; to go : ado Rom. of Rose 5082; to doo : soo Rom. of Rose 3047, Boke of Duch. 560, 649, 866, 1234; do : fro Rom. of Rose 2897; goon : doon (inf.) Boke of Duch. 187, 193, Knightes T. 1797, 2105; to do : wo Boke of Duch. 1190, Tr. and Cr. 830, Leg. of G.W. (Ariad.) 100, Rom. of Rose 3510, 4473, 4954; idoon : anoon Knightes T. 167, Boke of Duch. 131; tho : so : do Tr. and Cr. II. 23, House of Fame 320; two : to do Knightes T. 181, Leg. of G.W. (Yperm.) 133; to doon : anon Boke of Duch. 373; anon : doon Parl.Foules 645, Boke of Duch. 1310, 1332; allone : to done (ger.) Millers T. 358; to done (ger.) : mone (moan) House of Fame 361; none : done Rom. of Rose 6312; also : to do; one : done Boke of Duch. 40, Prol. Reeves T. 25; lo! : do House of Fame 515, Rom. of Rose 3520; doon : everychoon House of Fame 685;——mo : thereto : woo Monkes T. 330, Rom. of Rose 6643; also : therto Frank.T. 70, House of Fame II. 665; therto : woo : to go Monkes T. 333, Boke of Duch. 895; thereto : ago Leg.G.W. (Lucrece) 118, Rom. of Rose 6162; therto : Igoo Minor Poems, p. 288; hereto : so Tr. and Cr. IV. 1044, Frank.T. 593, Rom. of Rose 6202; lo! : to House of Fame II. 490;——forsothe : bothe Cr. and Tr. IV. 1007, Sec.Non.Pr.T. 168, Rom. of Rose 6525; sothe : bothe Rom. of Rose 6088; sothe : wrothe Boke of Duch. 512, 518, 1189;——home : come Boke of Duch. 78; doom : home Prol.Monkes T. 50; martirdome : home Rom. of Rose 6254.

This list is almost exhaustive, so that the exceptions cannot be said to be very numerous. Examples of Romance words exhibiting confusion between the *ǭ* and *ō*, which, it must be confessed, are very rare, have been purposely withheld. It will be readily seen, then, that the exceptions do not recur with sufficient frequency to affect materially the general rule which holds good not only for Chaucer, but for all M.E. writers.

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[1] See article in Englische Studien cited on page 56.

As to Chaucer's practice of writing, it may be said that *oo* occurs very frequently for both sounds of *ō*, *o* simply, however, being generally employed. The writing *oa* is of exceedingly rare occurrence, as in hoast; coast (Dream 1722). The *ō*'s whose quantity is the result of the operation of laws of lengthening before *ld*, *mb*, etc., very rarely exhibit *oo*, but are usually written *o*. The same applies to words of Romance origin.

Chaucer does not exhibit any confusion between close *ō* and *ū* such as we have seen was the case in the Northern Pricke of Conscience and Cursor Mundi. Nor do any other Southern writers, for that matter.

So much, then, for the detailed investigation of the history of the two sounds of long *o* in Chaucer and the M.E. writers in general.

To sum up the results of the foregoing investigation in M.E.: The A.S. low-back-wide *ā* was regularly rounded into M.E. *ǭ*. In the very earliest Southern texts, as St. Juliana, Hali Meidenhad, Old English Homilies, the old *ā* is still retained without any appreciable change in quality; but in the pure Southern texts, such as the Ancren Riwle, the change has been completed, so that *a* very rarely occurs. In the Kentish dialect the A.S. *ā* was likewise rounded into *ǭ*, except in the pres. and partcp. of certain reduplicating verbs which in the Ayenbite regularly exhibit *a*. The South-East Midland agrees with the Southern in exhibiting the rounded *ǭ*, while the early North-East Midland (Orm.) preserves, with remarkable fidelity, the old unrounded *ā* as over against the rounded *ǭ* of the latter period (Havelock). In the South-West Midland, as also in the North-West Midland, the A.S. *ā* is regularly represented by the open *ō*, but the unrounded *ā* occurs occasionally in the latter dialect, as in the alliterative poems Gawain and the Green Knight, which occurrences admit of very easy explanation on the ground of proximity to the Northern dialect. The Cursor Mundi and Pricke of Conscience, representing the Northern dialect, exhibit, *with perfect* regularity, *a* for the A.S. Northern *ā*, which does not necessarily mean an identity of quality with the ā of the South. On the contrary, it is quite probable that the Northern ā was a less open sound than the Southern ā, lying perhaps near the close ē, as its subsequent development into the closest possible ē indicates. But even in this dialect a few cases of *o* occur, as in loverd, 'lord' (Pricke of Conscience).

The development of the ā from O.N. ā is identical in all the texts and dialects with that of A.S. ā.

With regard to the symbol, the regular writing is *o*, but occasionally in the Southern dialect, Ancren Riwle and Genesis and Exodus, the writing *oa* is employed, whose origin, after the manner of *ea* for the open ē, was probably due to an attempt at a more accurate representation of a sound intermediate to the low-back ā and the rounded ǭ, lying, however, nearer the latter. In Chaucer the double *oo* is often found for the open ǭ, as it also is for the close ō. In the Cursor Mundi, for the A.S. ā, *ai* sporadically occurs, which gradually extended itself till, in Modern Scotch, it became the rule.

A.S. *a* before *ld* (the *ea*-breaking in W.S. and Kent.), an open vowel to begin with, was lengthened in all the M.E. dialects, and generally coincided with A.S. ā, with whose development its own is almost, but not quite, identical. In the earliest Southern texts the *a* is preserved (lengthened) before *ld*, but later is generally rounded into ǭ. The Kent. manifests its distinctive characteristic of the use of the old diphthongs in the frequent retention of the old "broken" *ea*, which occurs beside *yea*, *e*, *a*, *o*, etc. In the South-East Midland the rounded ǭ regularly occurs, but in the early North-East Midland Orm., without exception, writes the simple *a*, lengthened, which, a little later, was replaced by the rounded ǭ. In the West-Midland, both North and South, the rounding process is complete, and ǭ is regularly found. But, as might be expected, a few sporadic cases of the survival of the unrounded ā are exhibited by the alliterative poems, Gawain and the Green Knight, etc. In the Northern dialect the lengthened ā — which, it is to be borne in mind, is of a different quality from the ā representing *the A.S. ā,* being more open — occurs regularly.

This rounded ǭ is graphically represented in all the dialects by simple *o*.

A.S. *o*, of whatever origin, was widened in M.E. and lengthened in open syllables into open ǭ, which occurs alike in all the dialects. This ǭ is regularly written *o* simply.

A.S. *o* before final *ld*, and A.S. *o* (*a*) before *mb*, both become open in M.E., and are so treated in all the dialects, being generally written *o* simply, except in the Northern, where the old *a* is of course found.

Both open and close *o* of Romance origin receive the same treatment in all the dialects. These ō's are generally clearly differentiated in rime, but there is a little confusion arising from such words as persone, pore, trone, which are found combined with both open and close ō. The simple *o* is the symbol employed for the ō of Romance origin, indifferently, whether open or close.

The A.S. close ō, and the close ō from Old Norse sources as well, are retained alike in all the M.E. dialects, without any appreciable change in quality, except in the Northern, where there is evidently a manifest tendency toward the high position, approximating the ū-sound. This statement does not imply that the process was complete, but simply that there was manifest in the Northern such a tendency. As a matter of fact, the process was not complete till the 16th century. The other dialects[1] do not exhibit anything approaching this change, so early begun in the Northern, till a century or so later. This vowel is written generally *o* till late M.E., when *oo* was also introduced, and held its own by the side of the simple *o*. In the Northern dialect, however, *u* was very frequently employed, and occasionally, though very rarely, in Cursor Mundi and Pricke of Conscience, *ou* is found.

The two ō-sounds are very seldom found combined in rime, but in a few cases the poets, to meet the exigencies of their

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[1] With the possible exception of the Kentish, where an occasional *u-glide appears to* have been developed before the ō, as in guod.

verse, show here some confusion. These examples of confusion, however, do not occur with sufficient frequency (being, on the contrary, exceedingly rare) to affect the theory of differentiation between open and close long *o* in M.E. Of course, the class of words exemplified by who (M.E. ō < A.S. ā preceded by *w*) vacillated between open and close ō in late M.E.

It seems advisable here, at the end of this chapter, to present in small compass all the sources of the M.E. open and close long *o*, respectively. Hence the following *résumé:*

Sources of M.E. ǭ:

1. A.S. ā of whatever origin (except when preceded by *w*, in which case, in late M.E., the ō is close).
2. A.S. *o* in open syllables.
3. A.S. *a*, *ea* (W.S. and Kent. breaking) before *ld*.
4. A.S. *a*, *o* before *mb*.
5. A.S. *o* before final *ld*.
6. A.S. *o* before *rd* (occasionally, as in hoord, bord, etc.).
7. A.S. ā arising from ǣ (= Germ. *ai*), occasionally, as in most beside mest.
8. O.Fr. *o* < Lat. accented *au*, which in Old French, as well as in the Anglo-Norman dialect, yielded open *o*.
9. O.Fr. *o* from Lat. *o in positione*, except before nasals, which in tonic and pretonic syllables became open *o*.
10. O.Fr. ǭ before *ri* < Lat. *o* in ōria, oria, ōrium, which became, of course, in O.Fr. ǫrie.
11. Occasionally Fr. nasalized *o* from Lat. *o* before *n*.
12. Fr.-Lat. *o* in certain proper names.
13. O.N. ā.
14. Dutch ō very rarely.
15. Keltic ō very rarely.

Sources of M.E. ō:

1. A.S. ō of whatever origin.
2. A.S. ā preceded by *w*, occasionally in late M.E.

3. O.Fr. monophthong *o* (arising from accented Lat. *o* in open syllables), especially when followed by *v*.
4. Occasionally M.E. ǭ of Romance origin, with which close ō sometimes interchanges.
5. O.N. ō of whatever origin.
6. O.N. *ou*, which was reduced to the monophthong *o*.

III.

THE MODERN ENGLISH PERIOD.

A. The First Modern Period (1500–1600).

We have seen that in the Northern dialect the A.S. *a* developed into an entirely different vowel from that into which it developed in the other dialects. In the Scottish language this vowel subsequently underwent still further changes, for a discussion of which the reader is referred to Dr. Murray's excellent monograph. We shall, therefore, not concern ourselves further with this vowel. Nor shall we henceforth attempt to deal with the Northern dialect or Scotch.

The problem before us assumes now a different aspect, because of the rise of Standard English. In the Middle-English period we had to treat a number of dialects which, from the point of view we then occupied, were practically of equal importance, but now, because of the supremacy of one of these dialects over the others, our investigation becomes more simple. This dialect, which we call Standard English, and which in reality represents the language of London, is of a somewhat composite character, being in the main the East-Midland dialect, with a slight Southern element. It was this dialect which, because of the importance of its writers, and through the introduction of printing, spread over the country, and gradually established itself as the dominant literary dialect. Henceforth, then, we shall confine our research into the history of the ō-sounds to Standard English, in contradistinction to the existing minor dialects, which still are spoken.

In the treatment of the modern period we follow, for the sake of convenience and clearness, the somewhat arbitrary division according to centuries.

Every student of the English language recognizes, of course, its unphonetic orthography, which was stereotyped at the introduction of printing. Now, this orthography, which is based in the main on the system of English sounds of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, is still employed, with little or no alteration, to represent the present sounds, which since that date have undergone radical changes. But it is unnecessary here to make further remarks upon the obvious inadequacy of our sound notation, except to emphasize the fact that we cannot rely upon the present spelling to show the corresponding changes in sound which any given vowel or consonant has undergone since Middle English. Fortunately, however, we are not left without aid to grope our way in darkness through the tortuous paths of modern English phonology. There were grammarians who left on record their comments on the contemporary sounds, and by the reference of these sounds, on the part of the phoneticians, to a common standard of comparison, as Latin, which has not changed, we are given a clue to the various changes through which the vowels, and the consonants as well, have passed. It is with the help of these phonetic treatises, then, that we are enabled to arrive at a tolerably accurate knowledge of the changes the ō-sounds have undergone since Middle English. A complete list of these phonetic authorities may be found in Ellis's Early English Pronunciation (cf. Vol. I. Chap. II. p. 31).

1. The ō-Vowel in the First Modern Period.

The first phonetician to leave on record any information bearing on the history of the ō-vowel in the 16th century is Palsgrave. Writing in 1530, he says: "*O* in the frenche tong hath two divers maners of soundynges, the soundyng of *o, which is most* general with them, is lyke as we sounde *o* in these words in our tonge a boore, a soore, a coore, and such lyke, that is to say, like as the Italians sounde *o*, or they with us that sounde the latine tonge aright."

The ō-sound here spoken of seems to be the open, and not the close long *o*, the examples cited doubtless being boar, sore, core, the first two of which are referable to A.S. ā, and the last to M.E. ǭ from Old French core. Of course, this statement of itself is inconclusive as to the quality of the long *o*, and so we pass on to the next authority.

Salesbury, speaking of English sounds in 1547, says especially of *o*: "*O* takes the sound of [Welsh] *o* in some words, and in others the sound of *w*; thus *to*, to, digitus pedis; *so*, so, sic; *two*, tw, duo; *to*, to, ad; *schole*, scwl, schola; . . . But two *oo* together are sounded like *w* in Welsh, as good, gwd, bonus, poore, pwr, pauper." And again, twenty years later, in 1567, he says: "*O* in Welsh sounded according to the right sounding of it in Latin: eyther else as the sound of *o* in these Englyshe words: a Doe, a Roe, a Toe; and *o* never soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these wordes of English: to, do, two."

Here, then, we have a plain statement of the fact that there were in the 16th century two distinct sounds of long *o*, and that one of these, viz., the ō-sound in doe, roe, toe, is identified with the Welsh ō, which, according to Ellis and Sweet, was probably the long mid-mixed-wide *o*-vowel, or, at all events, an open *o*. The second sound referred to was, of course, the close ō (as in do, two), which had continued from Middle English. The continuity of the distinction between the open and close ō from Middle English up to the present date seems, therefore, established.

But we bring forward further evidence, corroborative of that already adduced. In order of priority Sir T. Smith comes first. He simply pairs, as containing short and long "*O Latina*," the following words given here in the present spelling, though written by him phonetically:

Short:	smock,	horse,	hop,	sop,	not,	rob,	bot,	pop
Long:	smoke,	hoarse,	pope,	soap,	note,	robe,	boat,	pope

All the examples given of long *o* are really open, being referable to M.E. ǭ (A.S. *ā*, bāt, sāp, etc.; A.S. *o* in open syllables, smoke, hope, etc.; O.Fr. *o*, robe). It is worthy of note that Smith makes *oo* in boot, look, mood, fool, pool, too, the equivalent of Latin *u*. This is presumptive evidence that the old M.E. *ō* had advanced to the high position — the tendency towards which we saw manifested itself in the Northern dialect even as early as the 14th century.

Hart, in 1569, says: "The fourth [vowel], by taking awaye of all the tongue, cleane from the teeth or gummes, as is sayde for the *a* and turning the lippes rounde as a ring, and thrusting forth of a sounding breath, which roundnesse to signifie the shape of the letter, was made (of the first inventors) in like sort thus *o*," his English examples being no, not, so. This description corresponds precisely to the position of the organs of speech in the production of the low-back-wide, round *ō*.

Florio, speaking of the Italian *o*-vowel in 1611, says: "So likewise to the close O, I have throughout my book given this ovalle forme *O*. and to the open, this round form O. The first close or ovalle is ever pronounced as the English single V in these wordes, Bun, Dug, Flud, Gud, Rud, Stud, Tun &c., whereas the other round or open is ever pronounced as our O. in these words, Bone, Dog, Flow, God, Rod, Stone, Tone, &c., as, for example, in these Italian wordes, Io h*o*n*ó*r*o* il mi*o* Dí*o* c*ó*n *ó*gni diu*o*ti*ó*ne, where ever O. is close and ovalle. And in these wordes, lúi mi vuóle tórre la mia tórre; or else lúi mi la r*ó*sa la mia rósa; where T*ó*rre with an open or round O. is a verbe and signifieth to take, and t*ó*rre with a close or ovalle O. is a noune substantive and signifieth a tower; and R*ó*sa with an ovalle and close O. is a participle of the verb Ródere and signifieth Gnawe or Nibled, and Rósa with a round or open O. is a noune substantive and signifieth the floure that we call a Rose."

Here Florio makes the *o* in the English words bone, stone, *toue, identical* with the Italian open o, which, according to

Sweet, is not the round low-back-wide *o*, as one might suspect, but the round mid-back-wide. Now, whether Florio's ear was sufficiently trained to appreciate the distinction between the low- and mid-position may be questionable. But he certainly heard here the open sound. Gill, in 1621, likewise attests the open quality of the *ō*, giving as key-words for his long *o* coale, beside the short *o* in to coll, which he writes ω and *o* respectively.

Now, from this cumulative evidence the conclusion is irresistible that the M.E. open *ō* preserved its open quality throughout the 16th century. But it is not so clear whether the peculiar phonetic value of this vowel was, during this century, the same as in M.E., viz., low-back-wide, round, as we should expect, or whether it was raised to the mid-position, as its development, during the next century, into the mid-back-narrow would indicate. This point cannot from the present evidence be established. Indeed, the distinction is almost too nice a one to expect the contemporary phonetic authorities, with their indefinite and inaccurate terminology, clearly to express, even if they could appreciate it.

Let us now take up the close *ō*-sound during this period, some evidence touching which has already been incidentally noted above. Palsgrave, our first authority, says, in speaking of *ou*: "*Ou* in the frenche tong shall be sounded lyke as the Italians sound this vowel *u*, or they with us that sound the Latin tong aright, that is to say, almost as we sounde hym in these wordes, a cowe, a mowe, a sowe, as oúltre, soudaẏn, oubliér, and so of such other."

These words of Palsgrave, though of themselves, of course, not conclusive, the testimony being of an indirect character, still show that the M.E. close *ō*, in his pronunciation[1] at least,

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[1] The nearest sound in Palsgrave's pronunciation to the French round high-back-narrow *ou*, as Sweet suggests, was probably the English *ou* in cowe. It is quite possible that Palsgrave's pronunciation on this point is not the received one, as has been demonstrated elsewhere to have been the case in regard to another sound.

had not yet passed entirely into *ū*. But some of the contemporary phoneticians do not agree with Palsgrave. Bullokar, in 1580, seems, however, to agree with him in the retention of the M.E. round mid-back-narrow *ō*. His words are: "*O* hath three soundes, all of them vowels; the one sound agreeing to his olde and continued name, another sounde, between the accustomed name of, *o*, and the old name of, *u*, and the same sound long, for which they write *oo* (as I do also, but giving it a proper name, according to the sound thereof), the thirde sounde is as, *u*, flat and short, that is to say, as this sillable *ou* short sounded: for which some of the better learned did many times use, *oo*, &, *u*, according to their soundes, but most times with superfluous letters." These three sounds Bullokar illustrates by the following examples:

1. sonne filius, upon, bosome (first vowel), corne, close.
2. sonne sol, out, bosome (second vowel), come.
3. loked, toke, boke, sone.

Salesbury, in 1567, says that "*o* never soundeth in Welsh as it doth in these wordes of English: to, do, two." See, further, his words quoted above under open *ō*, from which we infer that the close *ō*, in his pronunciation, had been raised to the high-position, thus becoming *ū*. Smith, in 1568, corroborates Salesbury's practice of pronouncing the close *ō*, as opposed to Palsgrave and Bullokar, who maintain the retention of the M.E. value of this vowel, viz., round mid-back-narrow. He identifies the *oo* in boot, look, mood, fool, pool, too, etc., with the Latin *ū*. His words are: "V Latinam, apertissimam habemus Angli, quamvis illam non agnoscimus, jam longo tempore à Gallis magistris decepti: at pronunciatio sonusque noster non potest non agnoscere. *Brevis* (but) sed, (luk) fortuna, (buk) dama mas, (mud) limus, (ful) plenus, (pul) deplumare, (tu) ad; *longa* (buut) ocrea, (luuk) aspicere, (buuk) liber, (muud) ira aut affictus, (fuul) stultus, (puul) piscina, (tuu) duo, etiam." And again, speaking of *u*, he says: "Hunc *sonum Anglo*-saxones, de quibus postea mentionem faciemus per ẏ exprimebant, ut verus Anglosaxonice ꞇꞃẏ. *Angli* (huur) meretrix, (kuuk) coquus, (guud) bonus, (bluud) sanguis, (huud) cucullus, (fluud) fluvius, (buuk) liber, (tuuk) cepit; *Scoti* (hyyr, kyyk, gyyd, blyyd, hyyd, flyyd, byyk, tyyk)."

Very important testimony is that furnished by the Welsh phonetic transliteration of the Hymn to the Virgin. This document was written, according to Sweet, probably, about 1500, and it is a noteworthy fact that this transliteration is in a language, the North Welsh, whose sounds have suffered little or no change since that date. Now, it is in this document that we find such transliterations as ws, swking, mwddyr, hw, bwk, gwd, tw, twk, dwth, bwn, swn, nwn, mwn, rwd, trwn, corresponding to the English us, sucking, mother, who, book, good, to, took, doth, boone, soone, noone, moone, roode, trone.[1] Here it may be noted that the ō-vowel in good, took, moon, soon, throne, etc., is identified, as far as quality is concerned, with the *u* of us. It will be seen, then, that the Welsh transliteration of the Hymn to the Virgin is in almost perfect unison with Salesbury's testimony with regard to the change of the close ō to the high-position, for the phonetic value of the Welsh *w* was really *ū*.

It is evident, then, that our orthoepists of this period do not completely harmonize, some maintaining that the M.E. close ō was preserved unchanged; others, with better authority, that the vowel was raised to the high-position; that is, made identical with *ū*. It will be remembered that even in the M.E. period this change began to manifest itself in the Northern dialect, but did not extend itself into the other dialects. Now, the conflicting character of the evidence of this period as to the value of the close ō is explicable on the hypothesis that both the above-mentioned pronunciations of this vowel obtained

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[1] On the other hand, pope, so, none, look, worlde, no, goe, fro, foe, allso, woe moe are transliterated pop, so, non, lok, world, no, go, ffro, ffo, also, wo, mo, thus confirming the results reached as to the quality of the open ō.

simultaneously, but the one, viz. the *ū*-pronunciation, as the generally accepted; the other, viz. the old M.E. pronunciation, as more or less provincial and obsolete. On this supposition the pronunciation of Palsgrave must have been very conservative, not to say antiquated, while that of Smith and Salesbury, which clearly has the weight of authority on its side, was the received pronunciation. It is, therefore, established that the M.E. close *ō* advanced from the mid- to the high-position, thus assuming the value of *ū*, under which sound it would have been leveled, had the *ū* not been previously diphthonged into *ou*. It is impossible, of course, from the very nature of the case to assign any definite date for the completion of this change from M.E. *ō* to *ū*, but, roughly speaking, we may set down the early sixteenth century as the time. The tendency towards this change first appeared, as we have seen, in the M.E. period in the Northern dialect.

Now, with regard to the manner of writing, it is very obvious, from the examples cited in the above quotations, that the present spelling was by no means established. In fact, the writing *oa* does not appear in these examples, but simply *oo*. Mr. Ellis expressed the view that the diversity of spelling was introduced to indicate the different sounds of long *o*, which seems quite true. As the writing *ea* was introduced to denote the open *ē*-vowel as opposed to the close, which was written *ee*, so here, doubtless, the *a* was added to indicate the more open quality of the *ō*-vowel, while the symbol *oo* became restricted to the close *ō*. This graphic distinction was evidently formed on the analogy of that of the *ē*-vowel, which antedates the former by several years. It will be remembered, of course, that the writing *oa* is of sporadic occurrence in certain Southern M.E. texts; but it never gained currency, so that the usual M.E. writing is *o* and *oo*, alike for open and close *ō*. An examination of the list of Palsgrave and Levins' spellings will reveal the fact that the former never, and the latter very rarely, employed the symbol *oa*, while both used *oo* quite often. But a cursory examination of this list, which is here reproduced as showing the spelling of the period, is sufficient to prove what confusion prevailed. The writing *ou* will be found to have been used, as in oulde, moulde, moule, foulde, etc.; and *oe* in Levins' writing for the final open ō, as in toe, doe, etc., which latter spelling has remained to the present time. This device does not appear to have occurred to Palsgrave, who writes rho, too.

“Boke . . booke, boke, othe . . othe, bokeram, bochette for a well . . bucket, bokyll . . buckle, bocler for defence . . bockler, bone a request . . boone, bourage herbe, boore beest . . bore, boorde for buylding . . boord, borde cloth nappe . . borde, boorder that gothe to borde . . border, boster vanteur, botte to rowe in bateau . . bote, boty that man of warre take . . booty, botlar . . butler, bottras . . buttresse, bottrye . . butterie, boote of lether . . boote, boothe . . boothe, bullyon in a woman's girdle, bouke of clothes, cloke a garment . . cloke, coke that selleth meate . . cooke, cole of fyre . . cole, coupe [coop], core of frute . . core, corse a deed body . . corse, courser of horses . . course, cosyn kynsman . . cousin, costes charge . . coste, cost of a countre . . coaste, cote a byrde . . coote, cote for a ladde . . cote, cover . . cover, couple . . couple, course . . course, doo a beest . . doe, dokelyng . . duckling, dole . . doole, dome judgement . . doome, dong hyll . . dungil, dore a gate . . door, doublet, dove . . doove, doute . . doubte, fole . . foole, foal a colte . . fole, foome . . fome, foo . . foe, forowe . . furrowe, fote . . foote, foulde for shepe . . fould, foule . . foule, good . . good, golde a metall . . golden, goulfe of corne, so moche as may lye bytwene two postes, otherwyse a baye . . gulfe, gode for a carter . . gode, goore of a smock . . gore, gose a foule . . goose, goseberry . . gooseberrie, goost . . ghoste, gote a beest . . gote, gottesmylk, grome . . groome, grote money . . grote, hode . . hoode, hoke . . hooke, hole . . hole, holy . . holy, hony . . honye, honny combe, honnysuckell . . honysuckle, hore . . whore, hope . . hope, hote house . . hote, horse a beest . . horse, hoorsnesse of the throte . . horse, host of men . . hoste, hose for ones legges . . hose, houpe [hoop], ionkette, junkets, iouse . . juce, lode . . lode [load], lofe of bredde . . lofe, loke . . looke, lope [loop], lome [loam], losyng perdition . . lose, love . . loved, mole moule a beest . . moule, moleyne an herbe, molet a fysshe . . mullet, moone a planet . . moone, moneth . . month, mode in a verbe . . moode, more a fen . . moore, mote a dytche . . mote, mote in the sonne . . mote, moton [mutton], moultytude . . multitude, moulde a form . . mould, mournyng . . mourne, noone mydday . . noone, nonne a relygious woman . . nunne, norisshyng . . nourish, nose (noose) . . nose, ore of a bote . . ore, ote corne . . otes, othe sweryng . . othe, oulde mayde . . ould, plome a frute . . ploume, podyng . . pudding, poddell a slough . . puddel, poke or bagge . . poke, pocke or blayne . . pocke, pole a staffe . . pole, pompe [pump], ponde . . ponde, pore . . pore, poore [poor], profe . . proofe, prose, rho bucke a beest . . roe buck, robe . . robe, roche a fysshe . . rochet, rode a crosse . . roode, rofe . . roofe, roke . . rooke, rope . . rope, rose . . rose, rote of a tree . . roote, sloo worme . . sloe, smoke . . smooke, sokelyng . . souke, sole a fysshe . . sole, sole of a fote . . sole, sole of a shoo . . sole, somme [sum], sonne . . sonne, sope to washe with . . sope, soper . . supper, sore a wound . . sore, sote of a chymney . . sooty, sothenesse [soothness], sodayne [sudden] . . sodayne, soule [soul] . . soule, souldier . . soldiourie, souter sauetier, soveraynte of a kynge . . soveraygne, spoke of a wheel . . spoke, stoble . . stubbil, stone . . stone, store . . store, tode [toad] . . tode, too of ones fote . . toe, toost of breed . . toste, tothe dent . . toothe, vout under the ground . . valte, wode [woad] . . woodwasse, wodwosse, wood or tre that is fallen . . wood, wodde to burne . . wood, woodnesse rage . . woode, wolfe . . wolfish, woman . . woman, wombe, wonders . . wonder, wo sorowe . . woe."

Such, then, was the manner of writing the ō-vowel in the 16th century. We see that *oo* was not at all regularly written. The symbol *oa* did not obtain general currency till *the following* century, when, after much fluctuation, the spelling, as it appears to-day, became stereotyped. Then it was that the open sound of long *o* was generally represented by *oa*, *o—e*, *o*, and final *oe*,[1] and the close by *oo*, which is occasionally shortened into *o*, as in do. Of course, there are exceptions. For example, the prototypes of Mod. Engl. room, stoop, droop, are A.S. rūm, stūpian, O.N. drūpa, where the *oo* represents an original *ū*, as Sweet has shown (H.E.S., § 829). Conversely, some words exhibit *u* which has sprung from A.S. *ō*, as gum (< A.S., M.E. gōme), rudder (< A.S., M.E. rōþer). These last words exemplify the result of the shortening of vowels before certain consonants.[2] It is worthy of note that during this period not only mother, other, rudder, etc., were shortened, but even blood, flood, done, month, etc., were occasionally regarded as short.

B. THE SECOND MODERN PERIOD (1600–1700).

This century witnessed radical changes in the history of the language. During the latter half of the century, says Sweet, the whole phonetic structure of the language may be said to have been revolutionized. Some of the more important of the vocalic changes of this period are: the simplification of the diphthongs *ai*, *au*; the development of the *ī*-vowel from early Modern English close *ē*, and of close *ē* from early modern open *ē*; the development of the present sound of *ŭ* and *ŏ*, as in sun, some, dun, box, fox, etc.; and the fronting of early Modern English *ă* and *ā* into *ǣ̆* and *ǣ*, respectively. The changes which the *ō*-vowel underwent during this period are equally significant.

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[1] Mod. English shoe is an exception, coming from M.E. *ō*.

[2] This shortening takes place especially before ð, *d*, and consonant groups.

1. The ō-Vowel in the Second Modern Period.

The first orthoepist of this century who has left on record any information regarding the ō-vowel is Wallis. Speaking, in 1653, of the guttural vowels, he says:

"*ô rotundum.* Majori labiorum apertura formatur *ô* rotundum: quo sono plerique proferunt Graecorum ω. Hoc sono Galli plerumque proferunt suum *au.* Angli ita fere semper proferunt *o* productum vel etiam *oa* (ipso *a* nimirum nunc dierum quasi evanesente; de quo idem hic judicium ferendum est ac suprà de *ea*[1]): Ut, *one,* unus; *none,* nullus; *whole,* totus; *hole,* foramen; *coal,* carbo; *boat,* cymba; *oat,* avena; *those,* illi; *chose,* eligi, etc. At ubi *o* breve est, ut plurimum per *ŏ* apertum (de quo supra) rarius per *ô* rotundum pronunciatur.

"*Oo* sonatur ut Germanorum *û* pingue, seu Gallorum *ou.* Ut in vocibus *good* bonus, *stood* stabam, *root* radix, *foot* pes, *loose* laxo, amitto.

"Nonnunquam *o* & *ou* negligentius pronunciantes eodem sono efferunt, ut in *còme,* venio; *sòme,* aliquis; *dòne,* actum; *còmpany,* consortium; *country,* rus; *couple,* par; *còvet,* concupisco; *lòve,* amo; aliisque aliquot; quae alio tamen sono rectius proferri debent."

According to Wallis, the open ō of the preceding period has been narrowed, being identified, as it is by him, with the French *au,* and the close ō is now *ū,* being identified with German *ū* and French *ou.* This latter change, we have shown, took place in the first modern period. Wilkins, in 1668, agrees with Wallis, giving the following pairs, in which it will be noted that the old open ō is without a mate:

Short:						
Long:	bote	foale	vote	mote	pole	rode
Short:		full	fut		pul	
Long:	boote	foole	foote	moote	poole	roode

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[1] Of course, the *a* was never pronounced in either case, being, as Ellis *says, a mere* orthographical device.

Price in his treatise, written in 1668, furnishes some interesting evidence. He distinguishes three sounds of *o*, — long as in no, "fo," more, most; short as in lot, not, for; "obscure like short *u* as in son, tongue, London, above, approve, behoveth, brother, come, companie, conie, conduit, dosen, dost, doth, love, mother, move, plover, pomel, prove, remove, shovel, some, venom, whom." This list is important as showing the development of the peculiar English ə-sound from an older *o* which had degenerated into *u*, and, further, as illustrating the process of shortening before ð, *d*, and stops in general; which process resulted in the reduction, in many words, of *ō* to the ə-sound. It is worthy of remark that Price assigns this obscure ə-value to the *ō* in some words where it has not continued, notably in approve, behove, move, prove, whom. He says, further: "*O* soundes like (woo) *oo* in Rome,[1] do, shoe, cuckoe, go, hord, mushrom, undo, who, whore." The shortening of *oo* is attested by him in the following of which he writes: "*Oo* soundes like short *u* in good, wool, hood, wood, stood." In general, as Ellis states, Price identifies *oa* with the long close *o*, and *oo* with *ū*. If, therefore, we may credit Price, the open *ō* which we saw continued throughout the 16th century has now been narrowed, thus succeeding to the position formerly occupied by the close *ō*, viz. mid-back-narrow (round).

Cooper, in 1685, confirms in general Price in regard to the change of the open *ō* just noted. His words, however, are not very clear, and read as follows: "*O* formatur à labiis paululum contractis, dum *spiritus orbiculatus* emittur: ut in *hope* spes; productum semper, (nisi in paucis quae per *oo* [*uu*] sonantur; et ante *l* per *ou* [*ou*] labiales; ut in *bold* audax), hoc modo pronunciant Angli; quem aliquando scribunt per *oa*; ut *coach* currus; correptus raró auditur, nisi in paucis, quae à

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[1] Ellis pointed out that even in the time of Shakespere this pronunciation appears allowable according to Julius Cæsar, Act I. Sc. II. v. 156:

> "Now is it Rome indeed, and Roome enough
> When there is in it but one onely man."

consonante labiali incipiunt; ut post *w* in *wolf* lupus, *wonder* mirum; & in syllaba *wor*; plura non memini; in quibusdam *u* hoc modo pronunciatur, ubi praecedens vocalis est labialis; ut *pull,* vello *full* plenus; non quia debet, sed quoniam aliter faciliùs efferri nequit: Et *oo* in *good* bonus, *hood* cucullus, *wood* lignum, *I stood* steti; Galli per *o* ut *globe* globus, *proteste* protestor; in *copy* exemplar corripitur. *Germani* per *o,* ut *ostern* pentecoste; quem in principio dictionum ferè producant: in *wort* verbum; *Gott* Deus corripitur."

The following is his list of long and short vowels:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
can	**ken**	**will**	**fully**	**full**	**up**	**meet**	**foot**
cast	**cane**	**weal**	**fall**	**foale**	**—**	**need**	**fool**

In this list it will be observed that Cooper refuses to pair full: fool as long and short of the same vowel, but makes foale the long of *u* in full, and the vowel in fool the long of that of foot, where, as Ellis says, the length is obviously due to the following consonant. From this evidence we infer that Cooper regarded the old open *ō* as the equivalent of *ū,* and this inference is supported by the following list of words, in which he says *oa* and *o* have the sound of *ū*: aboard, afford, behoves, boar, borne carried, force, forces, move, sword, sworn, tomb, two, who, whom, whore, whosoever, womb, worn. We can hardly believe that this was the generally received pronunciation of aboard, afford, boar, sword, etc.; yet it must have been, since in the case of some of these words this pronunciation is attested by Jones. In cloak, cloke, Cooper says the *oa* has the sound of *ā,* and adds, in conclusion, that the vowel *oo* is short in bloodily, goodlyness, flood, hood, brootherhood, sisterhood, neighbourhood, falsehood, soot, stood, wood, and wool.

Jones (1701), the last phonetic authority of this period, offers some evidence of a confirmatory nature, which we here add for the sake of completeness. He identifies *o* with *ū* in the following words: afford, bomb, comb, Ford, ford, gamboya, *gold, Monday,* More, Rome, tomb, womb; and *oa* with *ū* in:

"aboard, boar a clown," which last example is now written boor. He says, further, that *oe* is likewise pronounced *ū* in doe, doest, doeth, shoe, woe, and does. He then gives the following list, in which he admits the obscure ə-sound for *o* in "the beginning" of "colonel, colour, etc., comfort, company, etc., coney, conjure, etc., money, monkey, etc., mongcorn, monger, etc., blomary, bombast, borrage, bosom, botargo, brocado, chocolate, cognizance, colander, coral, coroner, cozen, Devon, dozen, forsooth, gormandize, gromel, London, onion, poltroon, pomado, poniard, porcelane, potato, recognisance, sojourn, Somerset, stomach, tobacco; in final -come, -dom, -some, -son; in the last syllable of chibol, gambol, symbol."

2. Development of an ou-Diphthong from ō before l.

We shall now consider one special case of the long *o* which demands attention. We refer to the *o* before *ld*, as in old. We have seen how this *o* was lengthened, in the M.E. period, into open *ō*. Now, this open *ō* seems to have persisted till the 16th century, when a parasitic *u* was developed before the following *l*. We see this parasitic *u* represented in the Welsh Hymn to the Virgin, as well as in the English prototype, where occur such writings as ould, owld for old; sould, sowld for sold; hould, howld for hold. Salesbury, in 1567, seems to be the first orthoepist to draw attention to this phenomenon. He says: "*O* before *ld* or *ll* is pronounced as though *w* were inserted between them, thus colde *cowlde* frigidus, bolle *bowl*, tolle *towl* vectigal."

This locution seems to have remained in the language, for in the following century Wallis refers to it especially in treating the *ou*-diphthong. He says: "*Ou* et *ow* duplicem sonum obtinent; alterum clarionem, alterum obscuriorem. In quibusdam vocabulis effertur sono clariori per *o* apertum et *w*. Ut in *sóul* anima, *sóuld* vendebam, venditum, *snów* nix, *knów* scio, *sów* sero, suo, *ówe* debeo, *bówl* poculum, etc., quo etiam sono et *ô* simplex nonnunquam effertur nempe ante ld ut in *gôld* aurum, *scôld* rixor, *hôld* teneo, *côld* frigidus, *ôld* senex, antiquus, etc., et ante *ll* in *pôll* caput, *rôll* volvo, *tôll* vectigal. Sed et haec omnia ab aliis efferuntur simpliciter per *ô* rotundum acsi scripta essent *sôle, sôld, snô,* &c."

Cooper, also, refers to this pronunciation when, in speaking of *o*, he says: "*O* in *full fole* (*u oo*) cum *u* (*u*) conjunctus constituit diphthongum in *coulter* vomis, *four* quatuor, *mould* panifico, mucesco, typus in quo res formatur; *moulter* plumas exuere, *poulterer* avicularius, *poultry* alites villatici, *shoulder* humerus, *soul* anima; in caeteris hunc sonum scribimus per *o* ante *ll* finalem, vel *l*, quando praecedit aliam consonantem; ut *bold* audax; quidam hoc modo pronunciant *ow*."

Jones, in 1701, expresses himself on this point thus: "*Ou* and *ow* have two very different sounds; (1) that in *soul, bowl, old, told* &c., which is the true sound of *o* and *oo* join'd together in one syllable. . . ."

No further evidence need be adduced to establish the fact of the development and persistence of the *u*-glide between *o* and *l*, which thus gave rise to a diphthong *ou*. The passages cited show that though this parasitic *u* was developed especially before *ld*, yet it occurs before *l* simply. The origin of this phenomenon is doubtless to be traced to the deep quality of the following liquid. The *u*-glide developed between *a* and *l*, as in faull, caulfe, bawld, bawl, wawl, for fall, calf, bald, ball, wall, in early modern English, is a parallel case.

To summarize, the open ō which, as we saw, continued during the 16th century unchanged, was during this century generally narrowed into the mid-back-narrow, thus occupying the position of the original close ō, which had advanced to the high-position. According to some grammarians of this period even the open ō advanced to this high-position in some words, thus coinciding with the close ō. We may infer, from the lack of any direct evidence to the contrary, that open ō still retained its open quality in some words, especially in those in which *r* occurs in proximity to the ō, as in broad, more, boar, *gore, oar, hoar,* sore, roar, hoarse, etc.

The M.E. close ō having been raised to the high-position during the preceding period, continued practically unchanged in this century.

Both the originally open and close ō were, under the operation of the shortening process before stops, reduced to short *u*, whose value during this century was that of the obscure (ə), as hood, flood, soot, wood, etc.

The diphthong *ou*, which developed (really during the preceding period) from a parasitic *u* between ō and *l*, continued in this century with its diphthongic value, as in o(u)ld, go(u)ld, mo(u)ld, etc.

C. THE THIRD MODERN PERIOD (1700–1800) AND LIVING ENGLISH.

1. The ō-Vowel in the Third Modern Period.

We have seen that during the 17th century the long open *o*, which had persisted as such from M.E. on, became a close sound, occupying the position of the original close ō. This latter vowel having begun very early to advance to the high-position, continued this line of development till, in the 17th century, the change was completed, so that the original close ō now had passed into *ū*. We have now to trace the development of these vowels in the 18th century. It may be premised here that the changes of these vowels in this century were very slight, being rather in the nature of exceptions to the development as shown for the preceding period. The two vowels themselves experienced no radical change, but remained practically what they were at the end of the second modern period. Other sounds did, however, pass over into the ō-vowel, as, for example, the diphthong *ou* of the first modern period, which developed into a monophthong ō. The reduction of this diphthong to the monophthong ō we shall treat at the end of this chapter. Let us now deal with the two ō-vowels.

The Expert Orthographist (1704), the earliest authority of this period, says that the writing *oa* is a mode of lengthening *o*, but that "*oa* in abroad, broad, and groat have a peculiar broad sound," and that "*oa* sounds *ai* in goal pronounced jail (dzheel)." He identifies *o* with *ū* in "wolf, wolves, Rome, comb, tomb, divorce, force, forge, form to sit on, born, endured, supported, forth abroad,[1] port, and its compounds com, de, in, sup, transport, sport, shorn and torn, engross, ghost, most, post, rost, and *o* between *w* and *r* for the most part is sounded *oo* [*ū*] as word, work, world, worm, worry, worship, worse-st, worsted, worst, worth; and in approve, behove, move, prove, remove, reprove; but like short *u* [that is, the obscure vowel ə] in dove, glove, love, cover, covet, groveling." So, also, in flood, blood, he gives the *oo* the value of the obscure vowel ə, while in door, floor, moor, poor, he makes the *oo* equivalent to *ū*.

Of the "peculiar broad sound" in abroad, etc., which the Orthographist mentions, the explanation is, of course, found in the preceding *r*, which very often exercises a conserving influence on the adjacent vowel. His close ō (mid-back-narrow) in floor, moor, poor, door is, likewise, explicable on the same principle, while his wūrd, wūrk, wūrm, etc., where we should expect wərd (word), wərk (work), etc., are perhaps to be explained on the same supposition as that suggested by Mr. Ellis for some of Jones' similar pronunciations, viz. that they resulted from overdriving a new attenuative habit. In this particular the Orthographist has not the support of contemporary authority. Nor does the subsequent development of these words confirm his pronunciation.

Buchanan, in 1766, exhibits such spellings as guuld (gold), Ruum (Rome), səuld[2] (sold), təuld (told), cəuld (cold), həuld (hold), bəuld (bold), etc., but his pronunciation in general agrees with the present, the diphthong disregarded, as does also Franklin's of 1768. Sheridan, in 1780, calls attention to what he terms

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[1] Not an example; merely given as explanatory of forth.

[2] *Mr. Ellis'* palæotype, where əu has the sound of ou in house.

certain Irishisms, as dūr for door, flūr for floor, cūrs for coarse, and course alike, strəv for strove, drəv for drove, rəd for rode, etc., which words, he says, were pronounced in England with the close ō; that is, the round mid-back-narrow vowel. Most of these are really survivals of a permissible pronunciation of the preceding century, and they may still have lingered as provincialisms in parts of England, while in Ireland, where the development of the language did not keep pace with that of the former country, they probably passed as the received pronunciation.

It will be seen, then, that there is no evidence to prove that the ō-vowels underwent any radical change during this century. They remained as they were at the end of the 17th century, the original open ō having been narrowed into the mid-back-narrow ō, while the original close ō had been raised to the high-position (high-back-narrow). During this period a few of the original open ō's seem to have advanced to the high-position, as most, ghost, according to some of the grammarians (Expert Orthographist). But this pronunciation cannot have gained currency, for in that event we should have had the strange phenomenon of a confusion of the two ō-sounds, which was not the case.

In some few words, as broad, groat, etc., the original open ō, which was generally narrowed into the mid-back-narrow ō, seems, under the influence of the preceding *r*, to have been lowered, developing into a round low-back-narrow sound.

The *ou*-diphthong, which was developed from a parasitic *u* between ō and *l*, was retained during this century, if we may credit Buchanan, but was also reduced to a monophthong, as in guuld (Buchanan) for gold. So then both monophthong and diphthong existed side by side, but the former as the newly developed sound from the latter, which had not yet died out. Towards the end of the century the diphthong had probably entirely disappeared, so that in Living English such words as gold, old, fold, told, sold, have the same vocalic sound as bone, stone, boat, — words in which no *u*-glide was developed after the open *o*.

2. The ō-Vowel in Living English.

It seems advisable here, before taking up the *ou*-diphthong, to anticipate somewhat, and consider the sounds into which the two *ō*'s developed in Living English.

The close *ō*, representing the M.E. open *ō*, continued, with its round mid-back-narrow value, till about the middle of the present century, according to Sweet, when, under the general tendency towards the diphthonging of long vowels in Living English, it ceased to be a simple vowel, developing into a diphthong whose first element is a round mid-back-wide *o*, and second a mid-front-wide *u*-sound (*ou*), as stone, bone, tone, roe, hope, so, woe, coal, throat, boat, woke, joke, spoke. In this category belong, also, gold, told, sold, fold, bold, etc. An exception, caused by the influence of *r*, is found in such words as sore, more, lore, boar, roar, gore, hoard, hoar, hoarse, broad, etc., where the first element of the diphthong is a round low-back-narrow vowel, and the second a mid-mixed-wide, or an obscure vowel, such as is heard in the second *e* of bett*e*r (*ɔə*).

The close *ō*, representing M.E. close *ō*, likewise continued, with its round high-back-narrow value, till about the middle of the present century, when it, from the same cause as the open *ō*, developed into a diphthong whose first element is a round high-back-wide vowel *u*, and second the same vowel still more rounded (*uw*), as food, mood, brood, boot, woo, bloom, doom, booth, sooth, goose, etc. Some words, exhibiting in Middle English close *ō*, have, perhaps under the influence of *r*, or from analogy, coincided in their latest development with the class of words showing M.E. open *ō*. This class is exemplified in swore, ore, whore. This transition dates from the 17th century, however, Lediard and the Orthographist writing *hoor, swoor, etc.,* and not huur, swuur.

The influence of *r* is seen in moor, poor, boor, etc., where the second element of the diphthong is the mid-mixed-wide or obscure vowel ə (*uə*). Floor is an exception, having gone over to the class exemplified by door, lore, sore, gore, etc.

Such words as foot, hook, rook, look, took, book, brook, hood, stood, good, etc., having been shortened, exhibit the wide *u*. But blood, flood, and such words as brother, other, doth, done, glove, etc., which have likewise been shortened, show the mid-back-narrow vowel, or, in other words, they have shared the fate of the M.E. close *u*, with which their *ō* coincided in the 17th century. In hot and wot, in which the open *ō* was shortened before *t*, the simple open *o* appears, and in words where the *r* had to be taken into account, the obscure vowel (mid-mixed-wide) appears; while in still others, as gone, cloth, wroth, etc., the open *ō*, which was shortened, has developed into the round low-back-narrow vowel.

It will be seen, then, that both the *ō*-sounds, from being close monophthongs in the last century and in the early part of the present, have developed in Living English into open diphthongs.

3. Development of Long o from the Diphthong ou.

There still remains one problem connected especially with the modern period which we have now to consider. This is the development of long *o* from the diphthong *ou*. The symbol *ou* in English has several different sources, and represents almost as many distinct sounds. It is, therefore, imperative that we first of all, in order to avoid confusion, define which of these sounds it is that falls within our province, for all do not. As is well known, the A.S. *ū* was in late Middle English represented by *ou*, which in early modern English became a pure diphthong, and later passed through *ou* into *au*, its present value. With this *ou* we are not concerned. The *ou* which we here discuss represents the M.E. diphthongs *ǭu*, *ōu*, and *ou*, which sprang, respectively, from A.S. *āw, āg, āh* (M.E. owe, knowe, ouh); from A.S. *ōw, ōh* (M.E. flow, blow, inouh, drouh); and from A.S. *og* (M.E. bowe < A.S. boga). The last M.E. diphthong *ou* was in late M.E. levelled under the open *ǫu*. Such then is, in brief, the origin of the modern *ou*-diphthong, which we have now to consider, and it is a noteworthy fact that it was sharply distinguished from the new diphthong *ou*, which developed in modern English from long *u*.

In the Welsh Hymn to the Virgin the following transliterations occur: sowls beside sols (soul), bo (bow), slo (slow), kno (know); as over against how, now, down, howsling (housel), etc., from which it appears that the *ou* was transcribed now *ow* and now *o* simply, especially when final, whereas the new diphthong *ou* (from *ū*) was invariably transcribed *ow*. This Hymn further furnishes evidence that the old diphthong *ou* was in process of simplification, being very often written *o*, the symbol invariably employed to represent the open *o*, as has been shown, while the new *ou* (from *ū*) is never thus transcribed. But this evidence alone is not sufficient to warrant the inference that *ou* was already reduced to the monophthong open *ō*; it is rather to be regarded as indicative of a tendency towards such a reduction. Let us consider now the evidence furnished by the contemporary grammarians.

Palsgrave says: "*Ou* in the frenche tong shal be sounded lyke as the Italians sounde this vowel *u*, or they with us that sounde the latine tong aright, that is to say, almost as we sounde hym in these wordes, a cowe, a mowe, a sowe," etc.

Palsgrave apparently, then, does not distinguish between the two *ou*-diphthongs, since he cites, by way of illustration the *ou* in cowe (M.E. *cū*) with that in mowe (M.E. mǫw). In the confusion of these diphthongs he is not supported by his contemporaries. Salesbury distinguishes in his examples between the two sounds, giving as examples bowe *bo* arcus, crowe *kro* cornix, trowe *tro* opinor; and lowe *low* mugire, nowe *now* nunc, thou *ddow*, double *u dowbyl uw*. In the first of the examples it will be observed that the *ou* is identified with *ō*, while in the last the *ou* sprang from *ū*, except in low, which is not entitled to be placed here (being from A.S. hlōwan), and is represented by *ow*. The inference to be drawn from this is, that the two *ou*'s were separated, and that the old *ou* was almost, if not quite, regarded as a monophthong *ō*, whereas the *ou* from M.E. *ū* was a pure diphthong. The two sounds, however, when the old *ou* was still a pure diphthong, cannot have been very far apart, as is shown by some little confusion even on the part of Salesbury, who places low in the same class with the new *ou* (< *ū*), and by Palsgrave's failure to make any distinction between the two sounds, and finally by the Welsh transliteration *ow*, which symbol was also employed for the new *ou* from *ū*.

Smith, in 1568, says of *ou*: "ΟΥ diphthongus Graeca [*ou*] et ωυ [*oou*]. Ex (o) brevi & (*u*), diphthongum habebant Latini, quae si non eadam, vicinissima certé est ου Graecae diphthongo, & proximè accedit ad sonum *u* Latinae. Ita quae Latinè per *u* longum scribebant, Graeci exprimebant per ου. quae per *u* brevem, per υ, quasi sonos vicinissimos. At ex (οο) longa & (*u*) diphthongus apud nos frequens est, apud Graecos rara, nisi apud Ionas: apud Latinos haud scio an fuit unquam in usu.

"(*ou*), (bou) flectere, (boul) sphaera, kould poteram, (mou) meta foeni, (sou) sus femina.

"ωυ. (boou) arcus, (booul) sinum aut scaphium, (koould) frigidus, (moou) metere, aut irridere os distorquendo, (soou) seminare, aut suere."

Again in his Greek pronunciation he adds: "ου ab omnibus rectè sonatur & *u* facit Latinum quando producitur, ut advertit Terentianus: differt ωυ granditate vocis, ut etiam ηυ ab ευ distinguimus.

"ου. *bow*, βοὺ, flectere, *a hay mow*, μοῦ, foeni congeries, *a gowne*, γοῦν, toga.

"ωυ. *a bow*, βωῦ, arcus, *to mow*, μωῦ, metere, vel os torquere, *gow*, γωῦ, abeamus.

"*υ*. *ν* breve Latium. *a bull* taurus. *u* longum vel *ου*, a bowl,[1] *βοῦλ*, glabus. *ωυ*, a bowle[1] *βωῦλ*, Sinum ligneum, vas in quo lac servatur, vel unde ruri bibitur."

Here, then, it is clear that Smith regarded the old *ou* as still a diphthong where Salesbury and others heard simply *ō*, without any *u*-sound, and that he distinguished the old *ou* from the new *ou* (< M.E. *ū*) merely by the quantity of the first element, which in the former was equivalent to Greek *ω*, in the latter to Greek *ο*. Again, Smith furnishes a refutation of Palsgrave's pronunciation of *ou* as Latin *ū*, which may have been dialectal, since Bullokar endorses it.

Wallis, in discussing *ou* in 1653, says: "*Ou* et *ow* duplicem sonum obtinent; alterum clariorem, alterum obscuriorem. In quibusdam vocabulis effertur sono clariori per *o* apertum, et *w*. Ut in *sóul* anima, *sóuld* vendebam, venditum, *snów* nix," and so on. See under *ou* from *ō* + *ld*, *ll*, etc., to which quotation is to be added further: "In aliis vocabulis obscuriori sono efferuntur; sono nempe composito ex *ò* vel *ù* obscuris, et *w*. Ut in *hòuse* domus, *mòuse* mus, *lòwse* pediculus, *bòul* globulus, *òur* noster, *òut* ex, *òwl* bubo, *tòwn* oppidum, *fòul* immundus, *fòwl* volucris, *bòw* flecto, *bòugh* ramus, *sòw* sus, etc. At *would* vellem, *should* deberem, *could* possem, *course* cursus, *court* aula, curia, et pauca forsan alia, quamvis (ut proximè praecedentia) per *òu* pronunciari debeant, vulgo tamen negligentius efferri solent per *oo* [*uu*]."

According to Wallis, then, *ou* has two values, — genuine *ou* and obscure *ou*. But he also says that *ou* consists of "*o* apertum et *w*," and that upon the dropping of *w*, as in sno, kno, so, which he admits as permissible pronunciation for snow, know, sow, etc., we have "*ô* rotundum." It is not clear how the mere absorption of *w* could convert an open into a

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[1] Note the distinction between these two words, the one (boul) ball (< Fr. boule), and the other (booul) bowl (< A.S. bolla). Gill, in 1621, makes the same distinction; but some of later grammarians (notably the *Orthographist*) did not observe it, and so pronounced bowl (bəul).

close ō. Wallis cannot, therefore, have meant by "*o* apertum" what we understand by open ō. He must have used this term merely in contradistinction to obscure *o*, as Sweet suggests. So, then, we infer that by open *o* Wallis really meant close *o* (round mid-back-narrow). It will be remembered that at this time the original open ō had developed into close ō, so that Wallis' error really is more intelligible than it at first seems. It appears, then, that the old *ou* — which even in the Welsh Hymn to the Virgin and in Salesbury's time was transliterated by the symbol used for open ō — had become identified with the close ō, thus coinciding with original open ō, which had now been narrowed into the same sound. But this change had not yet been completed, and this pronunciation, consequently, had not yet gained general currency. The old *ou* was, therefore, constantly diverging from the new *ou*, which sprang from the diphthong of ū.

Confirmatory evidence is furnished by Price (1668), who makes several divisions of *ou* as follows:

"1. *ow*, *ou* sound 'like *o*' in bestow, know, a bow, flow, low, window, throw, glow, grow; succour, brought, endeavour, although, armour, behaviour, clamour, colour, embassadour, emperour, errour, gourd, harbour, mannour, nought, odour, ought, rigour, solicitour, soul, though, thought, wrought.

"2. *Ow*, *ou* keep their 'full sound' in how, to bow, froward, allow, cow, coward, now, toward, devout, flout, fourth, our Saviour, stout.

"3. *Ou* sounds 'like short *u*' in cousin, double, courage, adjourn, bloud, couple, courtesy, discourage, doubled, encourage, floud, flourish, journey, journal, nourish, ougly, scourge, touchstone, touchy, young.

"4. *Ow*, *ou* sound 'like *woo*' in arrow, pillow, barrow, borrow, fallow, follow, hollow, morrow, shaddow, sorrow, swallow, widdow, willow, winnow, couch, course, discourse, court, courtier.

"5. '*Ou* soundes like *iw* in youth.'"

Cooper, in addition to the quotation given previously, says:

"*U* gutturalem [*v*][1] ante *u* Germanicum *oo* anglicè exprimentem semper scribimus per *ou*; ut *out* ex; *about* circa; *ou* tamen aliquando, praeter sonum priorem, sonatur ut *oo*; ut *I could* possem; ut *u* gutturalis, *couple* copulo; ut ɑ [long low-back-narrow-round vowel, as in law] *bought* emptus." Then, after a list of examples of *ou* (< M.E. *ū*), he adds: "*W* quiescens adjungitur post *o* finale (praeter in *do* facio, *go* eo, *no* non, *so* sic, *to* ad), ut *bowe* arcus, *dowe* farina subacta, *owe* debeo, *sowe* sero, *towe* lini floccus, &c., & in *own* assero, *disown* denego, *bellows* follis, *gallows* patibulum, *towardness* indoles."

Miege, in 1686, gives lists of words illustrating the sounds of *ou*, from which we take the following:

"*ou* = '*o* un peu long' in coulter, moulter, poultice, poultry, four, course, concourse, discourse, soul, souldier, shoulder, mould, trough, dough, though, although.

"*ough* = *a* long, that is, the same as Cooper's ɑ above, in: ought, nought, brought, bought, sought, thought, wrought = ât, nât, brât, bât, &c., except drought, doughty = *draout, daouty;* borough, thorough = *boro, thoro;* cough = *câff;* rough, tough, enough = *roff, toff, enoff.*

"*ou* = *ou* French [*uu*] in would, could, should, you, source, youth — Portsmouth, Plimouth, Yarmouth, Weymouth, Monmouth."

It is evident from the foregoing that the old diphthong *ou* had now become a monophthong equivalent to close *ō* (round mid-back-narrow), while the diphthong *ou* which arose from *ū* had passed into *au*; or, in other words, its first element had developed into an obscure vowel, the second remaining practically the same. The *ou* had, in many words, been shortened, thus developing into the obscure vowel ə (low-back-narrow), as in enough, tough, rough, and in borough, thorough, where

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[1] That is, the obscure vowel (low-back-narrow-round).

the *r* was a factor in the development. The *ou* before the guttural *gh* developed into a long low-back-narrow-round vowel, as in ought, nought, bought, sought, wrought, etc. It is to be borne in mind, then, that the old *ou*-diphthong, which even so early as the latter part of the 16th century began to be reduced to a monophthong, viz. open *o* (this vowel having not yet been narrowed), became finally, in the latter part of the following century, completely identified with close ō, which represented the open ō of the former century. Of course, the M.E. distinction between the open and close diphthong (*ǭu* and *ōu*) ceased to be observed in early modern English, in which both were treated alike and regarded as one in contradistinction to the new diphthong developed from M.E. *ū*. The evidence points to a levelling of the close *ōu* under the open *ǭu* in early modern English.

In the 18th century *ou*, like close ō (from M.E. ǭ), under which it had been levelled, experienced no radical change, but remained as it was at the end of the preceding period. In fact, the fate of this *ou* will be seen to be identical with the subsequent fate of the vowel under which it was levelled. The grammarians of this period have left on record very little comment on *ou*. Interesting are some of Buchanan's writings, as, for instance, nought (naat), though (dhoo), know (noo), blow (bloo), bestow (bistoo), soul (sool), a low (ae loou), thought (thaat), bought (baat), but would (wud), could (cud). These last examples are significant as showing how the spelling with *ou*, as in would, and also should, has been fixed, though historically these two words are not, as could is, entitled to the *ou*. It will be remembered that the *u*-glide was developed quite early in modern English between *o* and *l*; and though after the *ou* lost its diphthongal quality there was generally a reversion to the earlier writing,[1] as in gold, told, sold, etc., yet in a few cases *ou* has been stereotyped, as in should, would, in which two words analogy (to could) has doubtless influenced the present spelling. Of should, however, it is to

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[1] **Exceptions occur, as mould.**

be said that an examination of M.E. writers shows that very early the writing with *u* appears to have been introduced, Layamon, the Ancren Riwle, the Alliterative Poems, Wickliffe, Chaucer, and others, exhibiting *u* beside *o*, so that sulde can very easily have become sūlde, which would normally have developed into should in modern English. In this case should would then, like could, exhibit the new diphthong *ou* from M.E. *ū*. These words all were shortened, in early modern English, through the influence of the following consonant *d*, the preterite termination, and so were phonetically written with *ŭ* by the grammarians.

In Living English the *ou* — which had persisted throughout the 18th century and down to the middle of the present as close *ō*, under the general tendency of all long vowels to diphthonging — reverted to its former value of a pure diphthong *ou*, into which sound the close *ō* also developed, as in stone, bone, etc. As examples, may be cited slow, row, sow, snow, know, blow, grow, owe, own, mow, etc. In the development of this sound, then, we have the strange phenomenon of a diphthong becoming a monophthong and again the same diphthong which it was at first. In the class of words exemplified by cough, thought, bought, sought, wrought, brought, etc., the *ou*, under the influence of the following guttural, has developed into a different sound, viz. a round low-back-narrow vowel, or a diphthong whose first element is a round low-back-narrow, and second a round mid-mixed-wide vowel (*ɔə*), since an *ö*-glide appears to have developed from the guttural *gh*. The shortened *u* from *ou* in would, should, could, is in Living English a round high-back-wide vowel, or the same as that representing shortened close *ō*, as in foot.

A tabular view is here subjoined which shows the main course of development of the *ō*-vowel in English.

	South.	**Kent.**	**East Mid.**	**West Mid.**	**North.**
1. A.S. *ā* > M.E.	*ǭ*	*ǭ*	*ā* (early, but later *ǭ*),	*ǭ*	*ā*
2. A.S. ō > **M.E.**	*ō*	*ō*	*ō*	*ō*	*ō* (very late *ū*)

			16th Cent.		17th Cent.		18th Cent.
3.	Late M.E. ǭ	>	*ǫǫ* (written *oa*, *o—e*)	>	*ǫǫ* and *oo*	>	*oo*
4.	Late M.E. ō	>	*oo* and *uu* (written *oo*)	>	*uu*	>	*uu*

		Early 19th Cent.		Living English.
3.	>	*oo*	>	Diphthong *ǫu*, as in stone, goat, tone, rode, pope, coal, gold, etc.; *ɔe* before *r* in more, sore, gore, boar, hoar, etc.; *ɔ* in broad.
4.	>	*uu*	>	Diphthong *uw*, as in fool, boot, moon, noon, prove, move, etc.; *uə* before *r* in moor, poor, etc.

A.S. *āw*
A.S. *āg* > M.E. *ǭu* (written *ou*, *ow*), as know, owe, ouh.
A.S. *āh*
A.S. *og* > M.E. *ou* (written *ow*) as flowen (A.S. flogan), bowe (A.S. boga).

A.S. *ōw*
A.S. *ōh* > M.E. *ōu* (written *ow*, *ou*), as growe, flowe, inouh, drouh.

		16th Cent.		17th Cent.		18th Cent.
Late M.E. *ǭu*[1] Late M.E. *ōu*	>	*ou*, *ǫǫ*	>	*ou*, *oo*	>	*oo*

	19th Cent.		Living English.
>	*oo*	>	Diphthong *ou*, as in know, row, sow, flown, flow, grow, blow, etc.

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[1] In late M.E. the M.E. *ou* from A.S. *og* was levelled under *ǭu*.

APPENDIX.

A list of Rimes from several M.E. texts showing how open and close ō were separated in rime.

Metrical Psalter.[1]

swa : þa 33.16, 31.21, 34.7, 34.16, 43.4, 45.4, 47.6, 54.10, 68.12, 72.7, 108.20; swa : fra 1.4, 26.9, 42.3, 72.27, 119.5; þa : ga 18.15, 54.6, 58.7, 81.5, 82.5; þa : ma 9.21, 15.3, 21.2, 26.3, 32.6, 39.13, 55.6, 57.7, 68.15, 73.17; ma : swa 8.4, 17.34, 24.13, 25.10, 28.9, 32.10, 67.6, 89.11, 94.9; swa: wa 9.28, 17.3, 25.2, 38.4; twa: swa, 16.9, 17.25, 29.12, 32.5, 37.11; swa : ga 16.13, 26.4, 35.4, 43.10, 95.11; ga : twa 16.2, 36.15, 114.8; þa : fra 17.23, 32.19, 48.15, 58.3, 34.17; mare : are 13.3, 39.6; ane : stane 20.4, 77.16, 90.12; onane : to gane 2.2, 25.1, 36.31; onane : stane 39.3; maste : gaste 76.7, 106.25, 118.131; wa : als-swa 30.10; ane: nane 13.3, 31.9, 34.15, 52.6; lath : wrath 17.8; swa : fa 62.3; swa : fai[2] 7.6, 54.13; swa : faa 60.6; fa : ga 30.9, 42.2, 44.6, 55.10 (faa : ga); onane : fane 26.6; faane[2] : ane 70.10; faa : þa 24.3, 30.16; fai : þa 9.4; balde : kalde 28.3; anes : banes 21.15; talde : falde 11.7; ma : sla 53.5; þare : mare 40.7; swa : sla 61.4; lare : mare 118.66; talde : falde 78.12; þa : sla 34.4, 58.12; þa : wha 58.8; bane : Chanaane 105.38; banes : at anes 108.18; wa : ga 29.12, 67.6, etc.

A few sporadic cases of ō instead of ā occur in the Psalter, as go : fo 41.10; go : als-so 71.3; swo : þo 2.1; to : wo 40.4; none :

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[1] The Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter, edited by J. Stevenson for the Surtees Society, 1845.

[2] The writing *aa* and *ai* for long *a* occurs in the Psalter, also, occasionally.

fone 37.4; to : þo 24.14; swo : to 21.24; als-swo : fordo 27.5. But these are exceedingly rare, as the citations show.

Havelock the Dane —

ones : bones 1296; sold : old 1638; stod : wod 508, 1848, 1896; toke : loke 376; go : wo 510, 542, 2074, 2220; anon : ston 928, 1050, 1632; sone : bone 1660, 2570; mod : stod 1702; stod : blod 476, 1818; cloþes : oþes 418, 578, 2336; mone : sone 373, 402, 1954; fote : bote 1200; sore : ore (hore) (mercy) 153, 2442; mesebok : ok (Dan. *og*) 186, 200; ok : bok 1081, 2126, 2372, 2780; ok : kok (cook) 880, 2898; bok : tok 1174, 2850, lode : brode 896; oth : loth 260, 440, 2312; cold : bold 450; hold : bold 192; gold : hold 74; sor : hor (hair) 235; sho (shoe) : do 1138; to : do 17, 252, 412, 526, 1046; blode : gode 500, 670; flode : gode 522; god : wod 1776, 2360; sore : more 456, 654, 788, 2752; go : so 934; fo : slo (slay) 1364; wo : slo 1744; fro : slo 2070; boren : koren 1878; oth : woth (I wot) 2526; sore : þore 2638; more : þore 922, 980; oþer : broþer 1396, 1690, etc.; so : undo 714, 2738; to : wo 1742; mo : to 1846; two : do 1804, 2730; so : to 324, 1822, 2136, 2960; to : do 17, 252, 412, 526, 1046, etc.

It will be observed, from an examination of the above examples, that confusion between ǭ and ō arises only in those cases where the ǭ springs from A.S. *ā* preceded by *w*, which could rime with either open or close ō.

Pearl. — sore : more 130, 549; schore : more 166; yvore : more 178; porpose : chose 185; umbe-gon : whalles bon 210; schon : non 213; more : lore 234; tresore : bore 237; lose : porpose 265; so : mo 338; do (doe) : fro 335; wo : þro 334; boþe : woþe 373; loþe : wroþe 377; one : ston 378; so : two 552; þo : go 556 : byfore : more 597; blom : dom 577; god : flode 733; mode; stode 737; blode : wode 740; bolde : colde 805; byholde : wolde 808; folde : tolde 812; wro (Dan. *wrā*) : þro 865; mo : also 869; þoo : blo 872; rose : lose 905; blose : enclose 908; to *done : bone 913*; note : mote 933; flote : moote 945; rote : mote

957; fote : mote 969; sone : mone 1077; done : mone 1041; upone : mone 1053. Gawain and the Green Knight—cloþe: loþe : boþe 124; to blowe : innoȝe 512; lore : þore : more 664; hone : done : sone 1285; lawe : knowe : drowe 1643; gode: stode 1768; biholde : colde 1844; gode : rode (rood) : stode 1947; ȝore : sore 2114; snawe : lowe : trowe 2233; therefore: more : restore 2279; ones : stones 2280; restore : þore 2356; lorde : acorde 2403; coolde : bolde : wolde, 2474, etc.

Robert of Gloucester—more : sore 18, 55, 68, 98, 161, 220, 323; gode : blode 13, 15, 55, 57, 199; to : do 13, 36, 47, 48, 52, 90, 187, 522; ore : ybore 8; not : hot 7, 531; more : restore 194, 500; mo : wo 47, 52, 81, 127, 164, 177, 306; go : wo 13, 295, 329; stod : god 15, 21, 33, 122, 231, 305; gode : flode 20; so: two 21, 306, 531; þo : mo 23, 28, 37, 70, 95, 149, 232, 236; soþ: doþ 31; boþe : wroþe 31, 241; loþe : boþe 32; þo : wo 33, 143, 237, 249, 535, 537; mone : one 34, 315; gon : fon (foes) 35; ore: sore 39, 57, 58; stod : blod 42, 47, 91, 132; bolde : tolde 43, 72; go : mo 44, 138; toke : loke 53, 91; bolde : holde 58; mode : rode (rood) 61; anon : ston 517; ost : bost 258; fon (foes) : (ech)on 63, 79, 80, 86, 127, 136, 159; stode : rode (rood) 67, 70; wod: stod 68, 299; more : lore 71, 133; toke : forsoke 76, 241; broþer: oþer 77, 228, 278; þo : go 150, 177; fon (foes) : anon 80, 156, 211; brok (brook) : tok 80; stod : mod 83, 212; also : do 4, 36, 38, 65, 189; two : do 4, 7, 72, 224, 308; so : to 3, 4, 5, 29, 35, 52, 91, 523, etc.; so : do 30, 85, 170, 239, 504, etc.

Genesis and Exodus—good : stood 186, 2394; good : mood 128, 327, 333, 408, 1441, 1850; *oo* (ever) : ðorfro 112; biforn: boren 220, 253, 452, 908, 1377, 1706, etc.; moal : natural 81; wo : mo 69, 353, 2402; loken : boken 4; fro : wo 216, 2886, 2896; woa : Eva 238; forloren : boren 241, 545, 696; bold: awold 324; mo : þo 424, 578, 670, 732, 740; good : flood 492, 561; mor : sor 512, 1240, 1734, 2566; two : so 570, 706, 942, 1070; Gomorra : þoa 840; gon : non 845, 3298, 3542; (H)oba: woa 880; þo : fro 902, 1552, 3196; (h)old : wold 938; tok : ok (Dan. *og*) 944, 1172, 1416, 1568, 1756; wroð : loð 1216, 1736, 3318; fot : mot 1304, 3488; for (went) : swor 1337; stod : blod 1468, 2276; biforen : sworen 1526; on (one) : gon 1640, 2260; ston : gon 1650, 3866, 3872; blood : good 1662; tooc : booc 4124; bogt : wrogt 2606, 2824, 3216, 3628; old : sold 1908; ooc (oak): wooc (woke) 1874; nogt : wrogt 1812, 2218; sogt : nogt 1770, 3080, 3130; to : so 1828, 2492, 916; to : two 1094, 2814; ðore-to : so 590, 664; blo (A.S. blēo) : wo 637; to : do 1754, 3510, 3870, etc.

King Horn.—anon : gon 45, 286, 1232, 1352; two : þo 50; sore : more 70, 1194; stone : alone 74, 1026; go : also 98; wo : þo 116, 264; drof : þerof 120; flode : gode 140, 1184; blode : gode 178; ihote : bote (boat) 201, 768; mode : gode 282; (an)oþer : broþer 284, 822, 1292; oþe : wroþe 384; sone : none (noon) 358, 802; fro : þo 368; wo : two 430; more : lore 442; sone : idone 446, 748, 1238; stod : god 530; one : mone (moan) 528; fole : cole 590; gone : alone 612; ore (oar) : sore 656; forsoke : loke 748; felowe : knowe 1090; toke : loke 1100, 1142; alone : mone 1114; loþe : boþe 1198; cloþe : wroþe 1216; aros : gros 1314; gode : fode 1340; mode : blode 1406; ore (oar) : lore 1510; wo : do 276; to : do 268, etc.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS.

A.S. = Anglo-Saxon.
Dor.Gr. = Doric Greek.
Du. = Dutch.
Germ. = Germanic or German.
Gk. = Greek.
Goth. = Gothic.
I.E. = Indo-European.
Kent. = Kentish.
Lat. = Latin.
M.E. = Middle English.
Merc. = Mercian.
M.H.G. = Middle High German.
Mod.Eng. = Modern English.
Mod.Germ. = Modern German.
North. = Northern or Northumbrian.
O.D. = Old Dutch.
O.Fr. = Old French.
O.Fris. = Old Frisian.
O.H.G. = Old High German.
O.Ir. = Old Irish.
O.Lat. = Old Latin.
O.N. = Old Norse.
O.S. = Old Saxon.
Prim.Germ. = Primitive Germanic.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
W.Germ. = West Germanic.
W.S. = West Saxon.

> = Becomes or passes into.
< = From or derived from.

The symbol ($\sqrt{\ }$) indicates a root.

The asterisk (*) above the line at the beginning of a word indicates a theoretical form which we assume to have existed in prehistoric times.

All other abbreviations will be self-explanatory.

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